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IN FULL RETREAT



Surrendering Iraqi soldiers running past U.S. Marine vehicles as the Marines advanced beyond a burning Iraqi tank in the desert. More than 30,000 Iraqi troops have given themselves up.

Iraqi Troops Routed, but Their Escape Is Cut Off by Allied Drive to Euphrates



A U.S. Marine joins armed Kuwaiti citizens as they signal victory on Tuesday atop Sabahiah police station in the emirate.

U.S. Tricked Iraqis by Moving Armor

By Philip Shenon
New York Times Service
WITH THE 7TH CORPS IN IRAQ — A massive deception involving the largest movement of tanks since World War II fooled the Iraqi Army into abandoning a critical chokepoint to allow allied forces to move far into Iraq on the first day of the ground war, U.S. military officials said Tuesday.

By concentrating its initial buildup and

attacks along the Saudi border with Kuwait, American forces tricked the Iraqis into moving what reinforcements they had into a valley that runs along the border between Iraq and Kuwait — far from what proved to be the allied points of entry along the Saudi border with Iraq.

"They bought it," said a U.S. Army captain who spent Tuesday monitoring Iraqi troop movements along the border. "They were at the wrong place, wrong time."

The deception was set in motion as soon as the U.S. 7th Corps arrived here in mid-December from its headquarters in Germany and concentrated its training and maneuvers in the Saudi desert south of Kuwait.

It was only 10 days before the ground war began that the corps moved its forces, including thousands of tanks and tens of thousands of troops, to the Saudi border with Iraq. Colonel Johnnie B. Hitt said moving the

See DUPE, Page 5

Lay Down Arms, Bush Tells Iraqis

By Paul F. Horvitz
International Herald Tribune
WASHINGTON — President George Bush, scolding Iraq's announcement that it was withdrawing from Kuwait as "an outrage," said Tuesday that coalition forces would pursue the battle for Kuwait with undiminished intensity.

"It is time for all Iraqi forces in the theater of operation — those occupying Kuwait, those supporting the occupation of Kuwait — to lay down their arms," the president said. "And that will stop the bloodshed."

His statement clearly was intended to include Iraq's Republican Guard units, stationed just outside the Kuwaiti border.

Mr. Bush made no mention of renewed Soviet calls for a ceasefire, nor did he clarify long-term U.S. military intentions inside Iraq.

The president received immediate and unqualified support from many U.S. lawmakers, some of whom indicated that a Saudi missile that destroyed a barracks in eastern Saudi Arabia on Monday, killing 28 U.S. soldiers, had hardened American resolve.

"I think it's over as far as Saddam Hussein is concerned," said Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the Republican leader. "He just has to admit it."

"We've got to go forward," said

Senator John W. Warner, Republican of Virginia. "Otherwise, our losses, indeed the heavy Saudi loss last night, would have been in vain."

On diplomatic, political and military fronts, U.S. and allied leaders rejected any suggestion that Mr. Hussein had begun to meet their terms for a withdrawal from Kuwait or the terms of all United Nations Security Council resolutions.

In a speech on Baghdad radio,

Baghdad Loses 21 Of 42 Divisions

By Barry James
International Herald Tribune
Allied forces advanced on Tuesday to the banks of the Euphrates River in Iraq, cutting off the lines of retreat for Iraq's beleaguered forces, U.S. officials said.

The move appeared to complete the encirclement of Iraq's army of occupation, which U.S. commanders said had lost half its manpower, tanks and guns.

"The Iraqi Army is in full retreat," said Brigadier General

Richard I. Neal of the Marines, the U.S. command spokesman in Riyadh.

Lieutenant General Thomas W. Kelly of the Joint Chiefs of Staff said in Washington that the Iraqis were "trying to withdraw."

"We are helping them to be unsuccessful," he said.

Burned out and retreating vehicles stretched for miles along the road north of Kuwait City, under attack from B-52 bombers and carrier-based jets dropping cluster bombs.

Allied commanders said the attack would continue as long as the

Iraqis remained in military units, but that soldiers who lay down their arms would not be harmed.

Kuwaiti sources said the fleeing Iraqis were taking many Kuwaiti citizens with them as hostages, but the report could not be confirmed.

CBS News reported from Kuwait City on Tuesday that a small group of Marines had made their way to the U.S. Embassy in the capital and had "reopened" the compound. "Right now there are pockets of resistance throughout the city," First Lieutenant Brian Niles, with the contingent, told CBS.

A CBS reporter said the burned and looted city appeared desolate, with streets littered with abandoned military vehicles and equipment.

General Neal said coalition forces had destroyed or neutralized 21 of the 42 divisions that Iraq had deployed in the Kuwaiti theater of operations when the war began Jan. 17. An Iraqi division usually contains about 12,000 men.

General Kelly said that since the war began allied forces had destroyed about half of Iraq's initial 420,000 tanks in the Kuwaiti theater and almost half of its more than 3,000 artillery pieces.

Officials said U.S. Marines had fought an intensive tank battle at

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Strategy in Focus: Force Iraq to Choose

By Joseph Fitchett
International Herald Tribune
PARIS — As allied armored forces tightened a noose around Iraq's main military formations on Tuesday, the coalition's strategy in the land war emerged clearly: to force Iraq to choose between its army and Saddam Hussein.

By threatening to annihilate the elite Iraqi divisions as a fighting force, the allies are hoping to shatter the loyalty of Iraq's armed forces to the leader who led them into destruction in Kuwait.

The key, an American official said, is for the allies to smash or capture the main battle tanks and heavy artillery, wiping out the offensive ground armament that could enable Iraq to invade its neighbors.

"Deprived of those, Iraq is finished as a military threat," the official said. Although much of the Iraqi Air Force remains intact, that potential menace can be easily contained by U.S. naval air power and air defenses of nearby countries.

Destroying the Iraqi Army's equipment also has a political objective. "If Iraqi commanders have no prospect of rearming as long as Hussein is there, they are going to

start looking for a more acceptable leader," the official said.

Of possible sources of opposition in Iraq, only the Iraqi military establishment seems likely to be able to remove Mr. Hussein.

Crippling the remnants of the Iraqi Army and undermining Mr. Hussein, British and

French officials agreed, was the double objective of the giant sweep north of Kuwait by U.S. and British armored forces seeking to cut off the escape route of Iraqi forces that tried to escape the allies' pincer movement and flee north.

By late Tuesday, the trap appeared to have snapped shut. U.S. and British heavy tanks were already engaging the Republican Guard outside Basra, with no cease-fire in sight for a day or so.

Although this crucial tank battle could involve more than 1,000 tanks, a British source predicted Tuesday that it would be over in less than 48 hours — well before any cease-fire seems likely. "If it is not won by then, the two sides are liable to be so inter-

mingled that we would have to retreat," he said.

Allied commanders sounded confident on Tuesday of finishing the job, even if Republican Guard tanks remained dug in defensively and had to be dug out singly.

But there were also reports that some Guard units had slipped north to defend the government.

But not enough Iraqi forces got away, officials said, to derail the allies' hopes of cutting down the country's military strength so drastically that it would feel vulnerable.

Stable groups will have a hard time escaping now. French reconnaissance units reportedly have reached Nasiriyah, cutting the main highway to Baghdad from Basra. Foreign Legion squadrons, driving fast wheeled armor tanks developed for desert operations in Chad, can intercept retreating Iraqi units, slowing them up enough for air power to hit them.

The allied race to cut off an Iraqi retreat appears to have been a crucial element of allied strategy, showing that General H. Norman Schwarzkopf meant it in saying weeks ago

See STRATEGY, Page 4

Debriefing: Day 41

Sorties

More than 3,000 allied sorties were flown Tuesday, about half of them in close support of coalition ground forces. In excess of 103,000 allied sorties have been flown since the war began. There was no air activity reported on the Iraqi side Tuesday.

Losses

21 Iraqi divisions have been destroyed or rendered ineffective since the allied ground offensive was launched early Sunday.
More than 400 Iraqi tanks and numerous other Iraqi vehicles have been destroyed in the offensive, including 40 tanks on Tuesday by the British's 1st Armored Division.
More than 30,000 Iraqis have been taken prisoner since the start of the ground war.
Iraqi air-to-air combat losses were unchanged at 42: 36 planes and 6 helicopters.
Allied combat deaths in the ground offensive included 4 Americans, 13 Saudis and 1 Briton.

The number of Americans killed in the Saudi attack Monday in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, rose to 28, with 100 wounded.
The total number of allied combat deaths since the war began last month was 85: 52 Americans, including the Saudi victims, 32 Saudis and 1 Briton.
No losses of allied pilots were reported, leaving the missing-in-action total at 66: 53 Americans, British and French, 10 Saudis and 3 others.

Allied prisoner-of-war total remained at 13: 9 Americans, 2 British, 1 Italian, 1 Kuwaiti.
No losses of allied aircraft were reported. To date, 36 allied planes have been lost in combat: 27 American, 6 British, 1 Kuwaiti, 1 Italian, 1 Saudi.

Assessment
"The Iraqi Army is in full retreat,"
— Brigadier General Richard I. Neal of the U.S. Marines

At China Orphanage, the Products of a Feudalistic Attitude

By Sheryl WuDunn
New York Times Service

CHANGSHA, China — The babies in the stuffy, toasty-warm rooms of the orphanage, where hundreds of abandoned infants are brought each year, say something about Chinese social values: most are girls, and most of the rest are handicapped.

For years, the Communist government has tried to stamp out a feudalistic attitude toward sex roles that has persisted for centuries among China's peasants.

Even today, many parents want baby boys and not baby girls, and nowhere is this bias more vivid than in the rows of healthy but forsaken baby girls at the No. 1 Community Welfare Center here, most of whom have been found on someone's doorstep or in the street.

Many of the girls will not stay long, for childless Chinese couples, and now foreign couples, will scoop them up. But the babies who are perceived as marred

in some way — a cleft lip, a missing limb, a blind eye, or a mental handicap — will remain.

In China, girls are also often viewed as handicapped, especially in the countryside, where manual labor is a major factor in becoming rich. Moreover, the government's one-child policy, in effect for more than a decade, sometimes aggravates the problem, as couples who prefer a boy decide to abandon a newborn girl so they can try again, for a son.

"Many families still have a feudalistic attitude of favoring men," said Li Dinglong, deputy director of the Hunan Province Civil Affairs Department. "We must change the old ways of thinking. We must get rid of this custom of the woman's being married off to the man and becoming part of his household. If two people get married, it shouldn't matter which side of the family they go off to live with."

The number of orphans in China is still small compared with its population; China has only

140,000 orphans nationwide, the Ministry of Civil Affairs says.

Here in Hunan Province, for example, officials say there are only 10,000 orphans, compared with a population of 61 million.

They say that in recent years, however, the proportion of baby girls given up for adoption — most come from rural areas — has been increasing each year.

The number of couples seeking to adopt the girls has also risen.

"The number of couples who want kids exceeds the number of kids we have to give," said Su Kejun, director of the Civil Affairs Bureau in Changsha, the capital of Hunan Province.

Since 1988, when the government loosened restrictions on foreigners' adopting Chinese babies, many infants, including 35 from the No. 1 Welfare Center here last year, have found homes abroad in places

like Canada, the United States, and France. The majority of babies still go to childless Chinese couples, but now the No. 1 Welfare Center has 30 applications from foreign couples willing to pay \$4,000 to \$5,000 to adopt a Chinese baby.

"It doesn't matter whether they are Chinese parents or foreign parents, we look upon them as parents," said Tany Yupin, president of the center. "It is best for these children to grow up inside a home; but of course, this place is the next best thing, and we try to make it a home for them."

Foreigners are always given healthy babies without disabilities, but the center scrutinizes applications carefully and the process can take six months or more, including a trip to China.

Unlike South Korea, which in the past has placed many babies for adoption in the West but is now

See CHINA, Page 2

Kiosk

Bush Backs Bogota's Drug Policies

WASHINGTON (NYT) — President George Bush strongly endorsed the drug policies of Cesar Gaviria Trujillo on Tuesday, despite the Colombian president's new offer to negotiate the surrender of cocaine traffickers in exchange for immunity from extradition and shorter prison terms.

Mr. Bush met with Mr. Gaviria as a sign of his continuing commitment to combat drug abuse and to provide support during a period of increased narco-terrorist kidnappings.

Business/Finance

Germany adopted a major package of new taxes, Page 11.

Gold \$358.45
Down \$0.60

Oil W. TEXAS NYMEX
Up \$0.41
\$18.35

The Dollar in New York
DM 1.523
Pound 1.9195
Yen 132.85
FF 5.176

Crossword

Weather Page 2.

Dow Close
2,864.80
Down 23.27

WAR IN THE GULF: The Soviet president's spokesman says Saddam Hussein "has practically put up the white flag"

Gulf Is Straining 'Fragile' U.S. Ties, Gorbachev Hints

By David Remnick

Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — President Mikhail S. Gorbachev said Tuesday that U.S.-Soviet relations were still "fragile," hinting that they could deteriorate if the United States did not quickly accept a cease-fire in the Gulf.

As his spokesman in Moscow said that Saddam Hussein "has practically put up the white flag" of surrender, Mr. Gorbachev told factory workers in Minsk that "a great sense of responsibility" was required not to upset progress in relations between Moscow and Washington, according to the Tass press agency.

Mr. Gorbachev's message was subtle but unmistakable. Although his aides were quick to state that Moscow remained a member of the alliance against Iraq, Mr. Gorbachev's comments were the strongest indication yet of his anxiety and growing impatience with President George Bush's apparent insistence on waging war until Mr. Hussein has been defeated on the battlefield and discredited at home.

Speaking of the Middle East in general, Mr. Gorbachev said, "Without solving the conflicts throughout the Middle East, we will have a powder keg there which can blow up the entire world."

Although he is evidently frustrated with Washington after repeated attempts to win a diplomatic coup and avoid a ground war, Mr. Gorbachev does not seem in any way ready to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, Leonid I. Brezhnev, who threatened to enter the 1973 Arab-Israeli war when Israel was on the verge of victory over the Egyptian Army.

The Soviet Union, according to diplomats and Middle East experts in Moscow, is trying to achieve a delicate balance, at once maintaining the relationship with Washington but still trying to gain diplomatic advantage in the region after the war.

For domestic consumption, Mr. Gorbachev is also eager to assert

Moscow's position at a time when the Soviet Union has steadily lost its status as a superpower.

Alexander M. Belonogov, a deputy foreign minister who was among the Soviet diplomats trying to forge an 11th-hour plan to avert the ground war, said that Mr. Hussein could be trusted now to retreat from Kuwait and that Washington had no reason to block a UN-backed cease-fire in the region.

Mr. Belonogov said Mr. Hussein had sent a letter to Mr. Gorbachev overnight expressing his intention to leave Kuwait.

"It is clear to us that it would respond to the interests of all countries to stop the hostilities at once," Mr. Belonogov said. "There is no real reason to continue them. We proceed from the assumption that this new step will satisfy all interested parties."

Asked about Mr. Hussein's trustworthiness, Mr. Belonogov said, "Yes, I believe he is sincere when he tells his own people he will withdraw."

Mr. Gorbachev's spokesman, Vitali N. Ignatenko, said that although the Soviet Union and the other countries in the alliance had a degree of "individuality" in their policies, Moscow agreed that Baghdad must fulfill all 12 UN resolutions, not only the call to leave Kuwait.

Mr. Gorbachev's range of actions in the Gulf crisis, his initial readiness to join the alliance after the Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait and now his clear dissatisfaction with American policy has been baffling and sometimes irritating, to some analysts in the West.

His actions can only be understood in terms of the shifting realities of domestic politics in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Gorbachev has clearly moved into an alliance with the institutions of traditional order and power in the Soviet Union: the army, the KGB and the Communist Party. And within those institutions, there are many officials who regard Moscow's policy in the Gulf as capitulation to the West.

The evidence of conservative scorn is no secret. The war in the Gulf has been especially difficult for military leaders who have watched as the U.S.-led alliance has destroyed an army trained and primarily outfitted by Moscow.

Colonel General R. Akhmerov said: "For the United States, Iraq has become a testing ground for its military hardware and command and control systems. This peculiarity makes us think: won't our own country find itself in a similar position if we begin to cut our defenses sharply?"

Sergei Ischenko, deputy editor of the hard-line Military-Historical Journal, said that although Iraq had Soviet-made T-72 tanks and other armaments, "they didn't have enough of them to combat" the alliance's superiority in the air.

Mr. Ischenko said Washington was also waging a successful propaganda war, "persuading the world" that civilian casualties had been kept at a minimum and that it had no long-term strategic designs in the Gulf region.

The Scud That Got Through: Duffels, Debris and 28 Dead



A soldier walking Tuesday amid the rubble of the U.S. barracks near Dhahran, that was demolished by a Scud missile.

By Donatella Lorch

New York Times Service

DHAHRAN, Saudi Arabia — Duffel bags with miniature U.S. flags tucked into their tops formed a kind of honor guard Tuesday in front of twisted metal girders and shards of metal, the ghostly remains of a military barracks destroyed in a flash by an Iraqi Scud missile.

The U.S. Command said the missile, which hit a transformed warehouse housing U.S. soldiers Monday night, killed 28 soldiers and wounded at least 100.

The Scud apparently fragmented above the atmosphere and then tumbled earthward, its warhead blasting a 245-meter (8-foot) hole into the center of the building, which is 5 kilometers (3 miles) from a major U.S. air base, Brigadier General Richard I. Neal said.

The Scud could not be tracked by the Patriot missile radar system because it had fragmented when it entered the atmosphere, General Neal said.

"The system we utilize to defeat this system has a known trajectory," he said. "Our investigation looks like this missile broke apart in flight. On this particular missile it wasn't in the parameters of where it could be attacked."

Baghdad radio hailed the attack against "the coward traitors who

mortgage the sacred places of the nation and turn Arab youth into shields of flesh."

The attack was by far the deadliest of nearly 70 Scud attacks, most of them thwarted by Patriots.

The attack on Monday inflicted more casualties than the Iraq military had on U.S. troops in two days of ground combat. Four Americans were reported killed and 21 wounded in the opening days of the allied ground drive into Kuwait and Iraq.

A sign at the entrance of the barracks marked it as the home of the 475th Quartermaster Group, a water and petroleum distribution reserve unit from Farrell, Pennsylvania. Although the wounded and the dead had still not been identified Tuesday evening, it appeared that the casualties had been from a number of units.

Officials said the wounded had been taken to the 85th Evacuation Hospital at an air base in Dhahran as well as to an air transportable clinic. Officials said there were women among the fatalities.

As the dead were brought out and the casualties ferried to the hospitals, soldiers cried and embraced one another. Four pairs of boots lay in the rubble. The charred floors were littered with sleeping bags, coats and military uniform belts.

Kuwait Emir Declares Martial Law and Plans Quick Return

By Jim Hoagland

Washington Post Service

RIYADH — Moving to reassert his authority as the climactic battles of the liberation of Kuwait intensify, the exiled emir of Kuwait declared martial law in his war-torn nation Tuesday and began preparations for an immediate return home.

The decision by Sheikh Jaber al Ahmad al Sabah, Kuwait's hereditary ruler, to proclaim martial law for three months came as reports reached here that retreating Iraqi soldiers had kidnapped at least 10,000 Kuwaiti citizens and blown up the city-state's national assembly, banks and hotels.

The decree was immediately contested by some members of Kuwait's opposition in exile, who want the emirate's parliament reconvened before any decision is made on martial law.

These protests are likely to carry little weight with the American army and its coalition partners who have fought to restore the Sabah family as the legitimate government of Kuwait, diplomats said. But the protest suggested there would be an immediate resumption of the battles that had split Kuwait's political elite before the Iraqi invasion Aug. 2.

Several hundred American soldiers trained as civil affairs specialists will deploy into Kuwait City to work with the martial-law government to restore basic services. But these troops will play no role in maintaining public security in what may well be chaotic conditions following the liberation, a Western diplomat reported.

On Baghdad's orders, Iraqi soldiers rounded up at least 10,000 Kuwaiti civilians in Kuwait City

over the past three to four days and took them away to unknown destinations, according to Arab and Western diplomatic sources.

"We don't know where these people have been taken," said a Western diplomat, who noted that the number of kidnapped citizens might be in "the tens of thousands."

He declined to confirm that Western intelligence had intercepted the orders sent from Baghdad. But he said, "We know what those orders said and we know who signed them."

And he added that the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, bore "the ultimate responsibility" for the orders having been sent.

The destruction was ordered "for spite," not for military purposes in the retreat, the diplomat asserted.

"Iraqi officers are hopping in stolen cars and heading for the border as fast as they can," a Saudi official aware of reports from a Saudi intelligence unit that moved into Kuwait City said that Iraqi soldiers "are running to get out of the city when they see our troops. They are finished."

The emir named a nephew, Sheikh Saad al Abdullah al Salim al Sabah, to be martial law governor and senior liaison officer with the coalition forces. No other details of how martial law will work were included in the terse announcement.

Initial efforts by the ruling family, which escaped to Saudi Arabia in the first hours of the Iraqi invasion, and pro-democracy campaigners to bury their differences during the occupation reportedly have collapsed in recent weeks as the government-in-exile began to foreshadow the emir's intention to rule by decree for a limited period after liberation.

The Kuwaiti opposition has grown more vocal and more substantial since 1986. The emir, tired of criticism and apparently frightened by the government's shrinking popularity, suspended the National Assembly and effectively abrogated its 1962 constitution in 1986. Last May, dozens of Kuwait's most

prominent businessmen, intellectuals and professionals signed a petition demanding that parliament be reconvened.

The appointment of the crown prince, who is more popular than the emir, as chief martial-law administrator may have eased political tensions. But the opposition plans to form a broadly based political front to challenge the emir's increasingly autocratic practices, opposition spokesmen have said.

Remarks attributed last week to the Kuwaiti information minister, Bedr Jassim Yacoub have triggered new concern by the opposition. Kuwait will have to be "purified of intruders" who may be agents of

Iraq, Mr. Yacoub was quoted as saying.

But even if there is no more bloodshed, the reconstruction task facing the Kuwaiti government is enormous. Estimates of a \$100 billion price tag for reconstruction will have to be adjusted upward after the destruction by the Iraqis in the past week.

The U.S. civil affairs experts will be called on to help restore water supplies, clear the streets of rubble, get the international airport working again and fix communications network, Western diplomats said. But security matters will be left in the hands of American-trained Kuwaiti military police units established since August.

A Happy Iraqi Surrenders to U.S. Troops

Reuters

RIYADH — Advancing U.S. troops were surprised when a surrendering Iraqi soldier dressed in a T-shirt and Bermuda shorts greeted them in a Chicago accent.

"Where the hell have you guys been?" a U.S. military source quoted the soldier as saying on Tuesday.

The source said the Iraqi American told allied soldiers that he was visiting his grandmother in Iraq when he was called up.

"I saw one guy with dress shoes," the military source said. "They must have pulled him right off the dance floor."

European Allies Back Bush In Linking Truce to Pullout

By Craig R. Whitney

New York Times Service

LONDON — European members of the coalition against Iraq backed the United States on Tuesday and said that the war against Iraq would not end until President Saddam Hussein explicitly agreed to the United Nations resolutions demanding his complete, unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait.

"Our first concern has to be the safety and security of our forces," Prime Minister John Major of Britain told the House of Commons. Britain has more than 40,000 troops in the Gulf.

"That does mean that we require all Iraqi forces in the theater of operations, those occupying and those supporting the occupation of Kuwait, to abandon their weapons, their equipment, and withdraw," he said. "Until they do so, they will be treated as hostile."

After Mr. Hussein's broadcast speech claiming "victory" and announcing withdrawal from Kuwait, spokesmen for the British, French, Italian, Dutch, Belgian and Danish governments all said on Tuesday that there would be no cease-fire until he had recognized the UN resolutions.

"The retreat of the Iraqi Army from Kuwait is undoubtedly the result of military defeat in the field," said the Italian defense minister, Virginio Rognoni.

But the British defense minister, Tom King, said Tuesday afternoon, "At this time we have no reliable information of a general Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait."

He said British forces were still fighting Iraqi units.

A French Foreign Ministry spokesman, Daniel Bernard, said Iraq must comply with "all pertinent United Nations resolutions" before a cease-fire could be reached.

"In this speech," Mr. Bernard said, "we can note that Saddam Hussein has at last decided to talk seriously and, according to observers, his decision to withdraw is

manifest on the terrain, or at least it's beginning."

Foreign Minister Roland Dumas of France is due in Washington on Thursday for talks on the Gulf situation.

Mark Eyskens, the Belgian foreign minister, said he wanted clarification on whether Iraq would now stop firing Scud missiles into Israel and Saudi Arabia, and stop calling for terrorist actions in the other allied countries.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany said Tuesday that he had "full understanding" for the tough American line against Mr. Hussein. "He is the aggressor," Mr. Kohl said.

Explaining Britain's mistrust of the Iraqi leader's intentions, Mr. Major told the House of Commons, "He reiterated his untrue claim that Kuwait is part of Iraq, and threatened implicitly to return. He must know that meeting the Security Council resolutions is an essential step, and he must publicly and explicitly do so."

The British leader acknowledged that the start of the allied ground offensive early Sunday morning had changed the terms under which Iraqi withdrawal would be acceptable to the allies.

"I do believe that we are now in a new situation with the beginning of the ground war," Mr. Major said.

Mr. King said, "The terms now for his successful withdrawal from Kuwait and for the successful ending of the conflict aren't the same as they would have been on Aug. 2," the day Iraq invaded Kuwait.

Mr. King added, "We have no territorial ambitions and seek no changes in borders."

Although some political opponents of the war in Germany and Britain called for a cease-fire on Tuesday, there were no large-scale demonstrations against the continued fighting reported anywhere in Western Europe.

Mr. Major spoke in Parliament a few moments after President George Bush's rejection of the Iraqi

leader's speech on Tuesday, and pointed out what seemed an implicit Iraqi threat to try to seize Kuwait another day. "Everybody will remember that the gates of Constantinople were not opened to Moslems from the first attempt," the Iraqi leader had said.

"There have been a vast range of occasions over recent months where he has expressly told us truths," Mr. Major said of President Hussein. "We simply cannot and do not trust him."

The Spanish Foreign Minister, Francisco Fernandez Ordóñez, said, "Iraq's announcement to withdraw from Kuwait is good news."

But privately, Spanish officials were more critical, saying Mr. Hussein's announcement was equivocal and not in compliance with UN resolutions.

No Gas Used, Coalition Says

International Herald Tribune

Iraq has not employed chemical weapons against coalition forces in the Gulf, as had been widely feared, according to U.S. military officials.

At a briefing Tuesday in Riyadh, Brigadier General Richard I. Neal of the U.S. Marines said that allied tactics might have stifled the Iraqis.

"I think that the air campaign and the rapid, aggressive offensive ground campaign might have caught them off guard and not allowed them to get into a position where they could have utilized them," he said.

General Neal also said the weather had not been favorable for use of chemical weapons.

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البيان المالي

WAR IN THE GULF: Five overlapping, sometimes contradictory, impulses led to Hussein's humiliating pullout

Behind the Humiliation: Hussein Miscalculations

By Elaine Sciolino

Washington — Behind the coalition's mounting battlefield successes against Saddam Hussein and his humiliating order to his army to leave Kuwait is a simple question with a complicated answer: How could the Iraqi leader have so badly miscalculated the political will and the military strategy of his enemy?

The coalition members, in their public and private diplomacy since the invasion of Kuwait last August,

had warned Mr. Hussein repeatedly that if he chose to stay and fight he risked the destruction of his military, his political future and his country. But the message somehow had not gotten through to him. And once the war started, even the devastation of his country's military, political and industrial infrastructure did not move Mr. Hussein to give in.

In choosing to fight, Mr. Hussein was motivated by five overlapping, sometimes contradictory impulses. Some of these suggested that he

knew he would lose, others indicated that he believed he could win.

First, in the months before the war, Mr. Hussein saw war as inevitable. Instead of listening to the signals as they grew more ominous, he ignored them. He told a number of visitors that when faced with either a political or a military defeat, he chose to lose militarily.

"I know I am going to lose," Mr. Hussein told a French envoy, Pierre Vauzelle, during a meeting in early January, echoing statements made in October to the Soviet special envoy to Baghdad, Yevgeni M. Primakov. "At least I will have the death of a lion."

According to a French diplomat familiar with the meeting, "Saddam said it with some resignation, as if he couldn't change the course of history — the Arab ability to self-delude."

Second, Mr. Hussein also believed that the war against the coalition would duplicate the Iran-Iraq war, and that he could fight it and win it with the same strategy and defenses. He used a three-tier scheme of fortified defenses along the Kuwaiti border, mechanized forces in reserve and the elite Republican Guard, as he had done in the later, successful stages of the eight-year border war.

The United States had the technology, he said in a speech to an Islamic conference in Baghdad on Jan. 11, that revealed his war strategy, but he had the experience. "Under all circumstances, one who wants to resist a fighter from the land will eventually depend on a soldier who walks on the ground and comes with a hand grenade, rifle and bayonet to fight the soldier in the battle trench," he said. "All this technological superiority, which is on paper, will eventually be tested in the theater of operations. We are not people who speak on the basis of books; we are people with experience in fighting."

Mr. Hussein also had the men. After the Iran-Iraq war, he had demobilized only about 25 percent of his million-man army. Even if he lost three-fourths of it in a war against the coalition, he would still be left with a military of about the same size as the one he controlled at the beginning of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980.

Third, Mr. Hussein viewed the debate inherent in Western democracies as evidence of weakness and believed that he could outlast American will in any war. An avid viewer of CNN, according to President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Mr. Hussein misinterpreted the network's coverage of the congressional debate over American policy on the Gulf as evidence that such a divided country would not go to war.

"He didn't realize that there could be democratic debate, but when a decision was taken, it would be over," Mr. Mubarak told Egypt's parliament in an address last month. "He didn't believe that there could be a war."

Fourth, Mr. Hussein gambled that in losing militarily, he might win politically. Even though the analogy did not fit, aides in Baghdad on the eve of the war compared his plight to that of the Gamel Abdel Nasser, the late Egyptian president, who in 1967 was defeated militarily in the Six-Day War but survived politically, albeit bloodied and beaten.

There was a fifth reason for Mr. Hussein's miscalculations, related more to his character than his political outlook. Mr. Hussein is a leader who rose through the ranks of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party not as a political strategist but as an underground guerrilla. As his speeches and actions over the years made clear, the language he has best understood is the use of force.

If the Iran-Iraq experience was a guide, Mr. Hussein is not particularly skilled in the art of negotiating. Last August, less than two weeks after the invasion of Kuwait, Mr. Hussein suddenly abandoned his war demands in order to free up Iraqi troops from the Iranian border and carry favor with Tehran. The Iraqis readily accepted the deal.

When Mr. Hussein tried to negotiate his way out of the Gulf crisis, he did not know how to do it. In a formula worked out with Moscow, he abandoned without explanation his demand that a resolution of the Gulf crisis be linked to a resolution of the Palestinian issue. And by the time he agreed to withdraw from Kuwait, he was incapable of finding a negotiating starting point acceptable to Washington.

dent for his handling of the Gulf

Nevertheless, official sources say that Mr. Shamir and his senior aides continued to believe that the Bush administration was fundamentally unsympathetic to Israel in comparison with previous U.S. governments. After the war, officials here say they expect Mr. Bush to put pressure on the government to move toward granting political autonomy to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Mr. Bush "is aware, just as Mr. Shamir is, that the Iraq crisis is just a passing episode, and the controversy surrounding the future of the territories is the real issue at hand," said a commentary in the Tel Aviv daily Ha'aretz. "As long as Mr. Shamir and company still believe that Israel's existence depends on holding on to the West Bank and Gaza, there will never be a true stabilizing point in the U.S.-Israel relationship."

Mr. Shamir has been preparing for the use of a peace process since before the conflict began, aides say. In recent weeks, he has invited the most extreme nationalist party in parliament into his government and issued a series of statements rejecting any Israeli concessions to its Arab neighbors.

Palestinian leaders and Israeli leftists say the government has been systematically seeking to eliminate moderate Palestinian spokesmen with whom it might be asked to negotiate in the coming months; three prominent West Bank leaders have been imprisoned without trial since late last year.

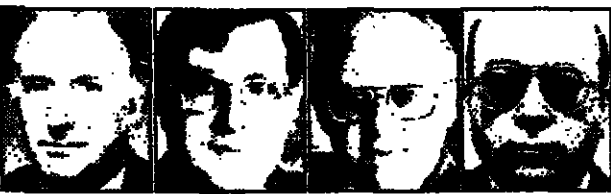
Mr. Shamir's tough stance against the peace process, officials say, has been balanced by a far-reaching willingness to accede to U.S. pressure not to respond to Iraqi missile attacks.

Officials said Tuesday that if the war were to end now and Iraq's ability to launch Scuds at Israel were destroyed or controlled, it was possible that no Israeli retaliatory action would ever be launched against Iraq, despite repeated vows by Defense Minister Moshe Arens that an eventual response was inevitable.

In recent days, Mr. Shamir, who did not speak to George Bush for 10 months before the war began, has repeatedly praised the presi-

The Analysts' View: Day 41

Four strategists pick the major development in the last 24 hours of the war.



Robert Hunter François Heisbourg Ze'ev Schiff Abdul-Karim Abou-Nasr

ROBERT E. HUNTER

Vice president of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

The overriding U.S. war aim is to destroy as much as possible of Iraq's military potential, including the Republican Guards in southern Iraq. But this goal can conflict with the need to preserve the political basis of U.S. military involvement, which is the principal UN demand that Iraq leave Kuwait. If an Iraqi retreat proceeds, Washington must weigh the risks of losing the political and moral high ground in the region and complicating future relations with the Soviet Union and much of the Arab world unless it accepts the retreat as victory. A good balance is to demand that heavy weapons be left behind.

FRANÇOIS HEISBOURG

Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

Saddam Hussein still acts like a man who expects to pull political victory out of the jaws of military defeat. He would have succeeded to a certain extent if the coalition had agreed to drop UN Security Council Resolutions 661 and following. However, the coalition had no reason to give away in victory what it had refused to award to a still-undefeated Iraq. The result of Saddam's wishful thinking is the continuation of the coalition's remarkably effective offensive operations and the anticipated liberation of Kuwait City.

ZE'EV SCHIFF

Military editor of the Tel Aviv daily Ha'aretz.

The war for Kuwait has been won. The strategic question facing the allies now is whether to continue the battle for Iraq or, to be more precise, for the regime that will rule Iraq after the war. Fighting this battle will ensure that the military victory is not just a fleeting episode. Winning it does not require the allies to conquer Baghdad or lay the Iraqi people low. It can be decided in southern Iraq if the withdrawing Iraqi army is forced to surrender its arms and the Iraqis are obliged to pay reparations for their aggression and the damage they have caused. Such pressure will cause the fall of Saddam Hussein and his regime.

ABDUL-KARIM ABOU-NASR

Editor and political commentator with leading Arab publications since 1965; now working with a Kuwaiti daily, Al Qabas.

Saddam Hussein has been forced to relinquish Kuwait, and the allies are now engaged on a new, more delicate path: the battle for Iraq's future. The coalition should not expect an automatic change of regime in Baghdad as a result of Saddam's defeat in Kuwait, the destruction inflicted on his country, his weakened military capacity and even the sight of Iraqi troops being forced to lay down their arms. Allied forces cannot pursue the war into Iraq itself until the regime falls. With no UN mandate, the coalition would find that politically impossible. So a ceasefire is to be expected in a few days and the Security Council could again be put in charge of the Gulf crisis. The allies could still enforce a long-term containment policy against Saddam's regime through a set of political, military, economic and financial restrictions.

Shamir Anticipates 'Period of Trial'

By Jackson Diehl

Washington Post Staff Writer

JERUSALEM — Even as it welcomed the apparent triumph of the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq, Israel's rightist government showed signs Tuesday of concern that it would soon come under pressure from the allies in a postwar peace process.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said he was pleased that the war appeared to be ending in a defeat for the Iraqi Army, but he emphasized Israel's view that President Saddam Hussein must be removed from power before the conflict ends.

In a statement, Mr. Shamir said the government "supports the stand of the United States as expressed by President Bush" in rejecting Iraqi attempts to arrange an orderly withdrawal of its troops. It said that Saddam Hussein "was trying to save his army for future aggression against his neighbors."

Mr. Shamir told legislators of his governing Likud party that the end of the war would bring a new "period of trial" for Israel.

He reportedly said again that his government would not make concessions if asked to yield territory in a settlement of Middle East issues.

"The end of the Gulf war will be followed by the usual attempts to establish a new pattern of Middle East arrangements," the Jerusalem Post quoted Mr. Shamir as saying at the closed party session. "There will be an effort to use political means to snatch from Israel what could not be snatched from us by force."

Mr. Shamir's reported depiction of the peace process as a threat to be resisted appeared consistent with his policy approach throughout the war. Israeli political analysts said Tuesday, Aides say he had gone to great lengths to cooperate with Washington's war aims while steering him self to resist its postwar agenda.

How Coalition Dismantled Iraq's 3-Tier Defense

By Michael R. Gordon

New York Times Staff Writer



U.S. soldiers guarding Iraqi soldiers crouched in their trenches inside Kuwait.

the battles in southern Iraq in 1986 and 1987 and helped build them into a formidable force.

But American and allied forces have important strengths that the Iraqis lacked: punishing air power, skilled combat engineers and the ability to conduct major flanking actions in relatively undefended Iraqi territory, moving past frontline defenses.

In mounting the ground attack, the United States and its allies have

thwarted the Iraqi defensive strategy in two ways.

First, they punched through the Iraqi defense, moving swiftly into the interior of Kuwait and frustrating Iraqi plans to snare them in border fighting. This spared the allies their vulnerability to Iraqi artillery.

Intensive artillery barrages and air attacks had weakened the Iraqis' frontline defenses. The allied air force diverted planes from attacks on tanks so that they could pound Iraqi artillery near the Kuwaiti border. Combat engineers cut paths through the sand berms and fortifications to pave the way for quick thrusts by U.S. Marines and Arab forces on the ground.

The attacks on Iraqi artillery, which can fire chemical gas shells, and the swift pace of the allied assaults blocked the ability to use poison gas. Allied forces also dropped leaflets warning the frontline troops that they would be held personally responsible for chemical-weapons attacks.

Iraqi mechanized units held back from the front lines were blocked by air attacks from moving forward to meet the advancing allied columns.

Also, American, British and French troops undercut the Iraqi defensive strategy by sweeping around the main frontline fortifications in Kuwait and driving deep into Iraqi territory.

The sweeps of tanks and helicopters west of Kuwait were intended to cut off the Republican Guard in southern Iraq, and other Iraqi forces in Kuwait.

The Iraqi chief of staff, General Hussein Rashid, commanded the Republican Guard through most of

the current Iraqi military leadership includes veterans of the war of attrition with Tehran, like Iraq's defense minister, Major General Saadi Tuma Abbas Juburi.

General Juburi successfully commanded three different army groups during the war against the Iraqis and is an expert in digging in and building fortifications.

The Iraqi chief of staff, General Hussein Rashid, commanded the Republican Guard through most of

A ball of fire from a huge explosion in the dawn distance silhouetting U.S. Marine Corps armored vehicles as they continued their assaults on Iraqi forces in Kuwait.

Mine Fields Not the Challenge Allies Had Feared

New York Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The mine fields that allied ground forces confronted on the offensive into Kuwait were penetrated relatively easily, with the use of standard tactics and equipment.

American officers said that the mine fields were not as sophisticated as had been believed at first, and that American intelligence about their locations was good.

Mines remain a danger deeper in enemy territory, and hundreds of thousands of unexploded mines will probably cause lingering problems for years after the war. But the initial assault went smoothly.

Whenever possible, the allies simply skirt the mine

fields. But sometimes that is precisely why the fields have been set up: to direct troops through zones where artillery is set to pounce.

The allied forces had several ways of clearing lanes when they needed to go through mine fields instead of going around them.

Special bombs were used to exert pressure over broad swaths of desert, exploding many of the mines.

Combat engineers also deployed explosive ropes that are uncoupled by rockets and then detonated. And mine-clearing vehicles, resembling tanks with bulldozer blades in front and special heavy armor, moved in advance of lighter vehicles in some places.

The tanks and personnel carriers could then follow, moving in narrow columns through safe lanes marked with colored barrels.

Many avenues of assault had been selected especially because intelligence suggested that the paths were clear. For weeks, air reconnaissance missions have watched for lanes habitually used by enemy vehicles.

In one lucky break, the allies captured an Iraqi soldier who turned out to have been the driver for a senior officer. He knew exactly which areas were too dangerous to traverse, at least in one sector of the front, an allied interrogator said.

STRATEGY: Forcing Iraqis to Choose Between Saddam and Soldiers

(Continued from page 1)

that he spent his time trying to think his way into President Hussein's head to anticipate his moves and figure out how to beat them.

Mr. Hussein, in announcing that he had ordered the evacuation of Kuwait, apparently hoped that the bulk of his forces would be able to retreat north, taking most of their weaponry with them. Instead of having to chase them, allied forces have reached positions to intercept them.

But Iraqi planning also anticipated the risk of being trapped and some elements of the Republican Guard slipped out of the ground combat theater last week and made their way north under the cover of heavy smoke from blazing oil wells, according to intelligence sources.

They said that more than 5,000 members of the Guard units, with

several hundred tanks, have reached Baghdad.

The timing of this move to reinforce the capital appeared related to the last visit to Baghdad of Yevgeni M. Primakov, the Soviet envoy who has been urging President Mikhail S. Gorbachev to exert his influence to save the Hussein government.

Mr. Primakov, who has been called "a dangerous man, a hard-liner with no qualms about helping Saddam if it made him a Soviet client," by a French official, may have used Soviet intelligence information to convince Mr. Hussein about the impending military debacle and helped him devise plans to foil the allies' plan for overthrowing the government by holding the army's fate as a kind of ransom.

In what could be a further bid to circle the wagons around the government, Arab diplomats said

Tuesday that many senior Iraqi commanders — presumably including the most capable and the most loyal — seemed to have been ordered north last week.

Their absence may further weaken last-ditch Iraqi combat resistance, but it is likely to be too little too late to block the allied plan for squeezing the army as a means of leverage to topple the government and help improve the prospects for postwar cooperation in the region.

After the Iraq-Iran war, Mr. Hussein demonstrated his ability to resist domestic pressures, ignoring the plight of Iraqi prisoners and the occupation of some Iraqi territory for months.

This time, if the Iraqi leader manages to stay in power, shielded by his brutal internal security system, allied officials said that the coalition will keep sanctions on Iraq, including military and finan-

cial embargoes. Frustration will mount in the military establishment, they said, until a group of officers moves against him.

Officials acknowledged that Western, and apparently even Israeli, intelligence lacked reliable information about possible dissident factions in the Iraqi military.

But they were optimistic that the Soviet Union and Iran, despite their recent overtures to Baghdad, would not try to rescue the government.

Fresh Soviet arms deliveries "would sink Gorbachev in the West," a British official said.

A French official said that Iran's leaders "have no taste for working with this megalomaniac." He added that Tehran will probably hold on to the Iraqi planes that flew to haven in Iran until it can use them as bargaining chips with a new government in Baghdad.

Contaminated water can transmit many different strains of bacteria capable of inducing severe diarrhea and can cause cholera.

Epidemic Feared In Iraqi Capital

New York Times Staff Writer

NEW YORK — Doctors returning from Baghdad say they fear that a major epidemic of diseases, including cholera and typhoid, could sweep through the city during the approaching warm weather.

Dr. Ali Khogali, a World Health Organization official, said that cases of severe diarrhea among children had quadrupled since the war began and that respiratory diseases had multiplied between three and four times over prewar levels.

Baghdad can supply only 5 percent of its usual water demand, Dr. Khogali said. When water pressure drops, toilets and sewage systems do not work, and water quickly becomes contaminated, he said.

Contaminated water can transmit many different strains of bacteria capable of inducing severe diarrhea and can cause cholera.

Forces' Rapid Thrust May Strain Supply Network

By John H. Cushman Jr.

New York Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Following fast on the heels of allied forces thrusting into Kuwait and Iraq, a vast logistical train must feed, fuel and arm the immense attacking armies.

The rapid advance of allied forces so far has probably strained the logistical system, since large quantities of fuel have to be delivered over longer distances than expected.

General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, the allied commander, was reported to have told his troops on Monday to accelerate their pace, and other senior officers have said that the advance was moving ahead of schedule. That means that supplies were being used up faster than planned.

Fuel is delivered by tanker trucks and aircraft, which carry bladder tanks for ground units. Special mobile pumping equipment, designed so that many vehicles can simultaneously replenish themselves, allows units to pull in and quickly get back into combat. Eventually, pipelines may be laid to speed the flow of fuel and free trucks and aircraft for carrying ammunition.

The allies' main battle tanks can go nearly 500 kilometers (300 miles) before refueling. But their turbine engines guzzle about 1,900 liters (500 gallons) of fuel to go that distance.

When the heavy mechanized and armored divisions are engaged, firepower replaces maneuvering in importance, and ammunition rises to the top of the cargo manifests. A multiple rocket launcher, for instance, can shoot only one volley of

12 rockets before a new box of ammunition must be loaded onto its rack.

Food and water rations will have to be delivered after about three days, and the wounded and the dead will have to be shipped out.

In some cases, logistical bases have been set up ahead of the ground forces, an example being the helicopter refueling base set up inside Iraq by the 101st Airborne Division. The base supports the 101st's activities and could be used as a forward gas station and ammunition dump for armored units approaching from the south.

But most advancing units must set up their own staging areas, usually only after the assault has moved safely past. The assaulting troops carry a mix of supplies known as a "basic load," some-

times also called "a day of fire." Behind every battalion, brigade, and division in the battle is a logistical support unit dedicated to passing supplies forward. A 500-man mechanized battalion, for instance, has 12 heavy trucks attached to it. They shuttle back and forth to fuel and ammunition depots 25 kilometers or so behind the main battle lines.

The battalion's depots would be supplied from larger ones established farther back, and he would get the brigade's supplies from the division's stocks, fed in turn from the corps' supplies in the rear.

The fuel and ammunition would be delivered to the way stations in motorized convoys on the ground, or on Chinook transport helicopters, or even on C-130 aircraft.



Allied Offensive

APR 10 1991

WAR IN THE GULF: As the Iraqi Army appeared encircled, President Bush vowed to press on



A column of Iraqi prisoners of war, after capture by a task force of the U.S. 1st Marine Division, as they marched on Tuesday to a processing area in Kuwait.

The Vanguard in Kuwait City

The Associated Press

KUWAIT CITY — U.S. and Saudi special forces probed a smoke-filled Kuwait City on Tuesday, the vanguard of an allied force of thousands ready to enter the Kuwaiti capital.

Kuwaiti resistance leaders said that Iraqis took thousands of hostages as they departed, rounding them up from schools and mosques. The hostages included relatives of Kuwaiti military personnel and members of prominent families, they said.

The city appeared to have largely escaped the effects of allied bombing, but it was marked by burned-out buildings and roadblocks that Iraqi occupying troops had set up.

Abandoned Iraqi T-55 tanks, as well as transport trucks and smaller vehicles, were scattered along the highway into town. Elsewhere were handguns, machine guns and anti-tank rocket launchers abandoned by Saddam Hussein's forces.

One Iraqi anti-aircraft weapon had been abandoned fully loaded.

Escorted by Kuwaiti resistance leaders, the allied troops went first to the Saudi Embassy and then to the American diplomatic compound, where they found the U.S. seal hanging on the outside wall of the compound and the gates chained shut.

They decided against entering, for fear of mines and booby traps.

One U.S. soldier carried an American flag to the gates of the compound. He said it had been given to him during the Tet Offensive in Vietnam in 1968 by a Marine who died in his arms.

The dozen or so members of the special forces said

they had entered the city on their own after having met with the resistance leaders.

To the rear, on the outskirts of town, were several thousand Kuwaiti, Omani and Saudi troops, with tanks and personnel carriers, waiting for daylight before entering the city that Iraqi forces overran on Aug. 2.

Resistance officials said they were in complete control of the city following the Iraqi withdrawal, which began Monday night. They said some Iraqis may still be in one sector of the city, and others hidden in schools. They reported having taken an undetermined number of prisoners to a local jail.

However, U.S. officials in Saudi Arabia and Washington said the allies did not control the Kuwaiti capital yet.

Outside the city, Iraqi prisoners were being transported to the rear in dozens of buses.

Thick black smoke hung over the city, the result of oilfield fires along the coast.

Resistance officials set up their headquarters in a residential building and have the ability to broadcast to the population, as well as to distribute food and water from their stockpiles.

Referring to the departure of the Iraqis, one resistance fighter said, "We were starting to think that no one was ever going to believe us."

About a dozen Saudi special forces troops went to their country's embassy, with an escort from the resistance. They found the ambassador's house ransacked, with cabinets and drawers ripped open.

The Saudi flag still fluttered over the residence, and pictures of the Saudi royal family still hung in the house.

BUSH: Surrender, Iraqis Are Told

(Continued from page 1)

Hussein said, adding that a "great victory" was certain for Iraqis in the future.

Mr. Bush, in a morning statement read in the White House Rose Garden, offered a new prescription for an end to the fighting, and there were strong indications that nothing short of full Iraqi surrender would satisfy the administration.

Senator Richard G. Lugar, Republican of Indiana, after a meeting at the White House, said: "The president told us that we're going to continue to prosecute the war because Saddam Hussein has not surrendered."

In the radio address early Tuesday, Mr. Hussein said his country would never forget that in August, Kuwait was legally annexed by Iraq and that it had continued to be part of Iraq until Monday, when he said the Iraqi withdrawal began.

Although the wording seemed to indicate an end to Iraqi claims on Kuwait, the White House took the opposite view.

Mr. Bush scorned the speech in stark terms.

"Saddam's most recent speech is an outrage," he said. "He is not retreating. He is trying to claim victory in the midst of a rout. And he is not voluntarily giving up Kuwait."

"He is trying to give the remnants of power and control in the Middle East by every means possible."

As a result, Mr. Bush said, the coalition will "continue to prosecute the war with undiminished intensity." He said the military effort was ahead of schedule.

The president reaffirmed a White House statement made Monday night that unarmed Iraqi soldiers would not be attacked. Pentagon and allied officials made clear that retreating Iraqis would not be permitted to take their armor and weapons with them.

A Pentagon spokesman, Lieutenant Colonel Steve Roy, elaborated, saying allied forces would "pursue the enemy, fight toward the ground objective, engage the enemy at every opportunity, take prisoners, destroy the enemy's personnel, equipment, vehicles, lines of communication, bridges, supply depots and continue to cut the enemy to obtain his destruction or surrender or both."

"By laying down their weapons," he continued, "we mean all fighting gear from pistols and knives on up to air defenses and tanks."

Mr. Bush said the allies had "no choice but to consider retreating combat units as a threat, and respond accordingly."

"Anything else," he said, "would risk additional United States and coalition casualties."

According to Mr. Bush, the Iraqi leader did not meet the allied terms for withdrawal set forth by the White House on Friday.

Mr. Bush stated that Mr. Hussein had not renounced Iraq's claim to Kuwait, had not accepted responsibility for damage to Kuwait, and had not mentioned the release of war prisoners or detained civilians.

The coalition had demanded that Iraq also remove explosives and booby traps and provide information on the location of land and sea mines.

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Retreat or Surrender: A Matter Of Life and Death for Iraqis

By John H. Cushman Jr.

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Specialties in military law said Tuesday that the rules of war clearly permitted the United States and its allies to attack retreating Iraqi troops until they laid down their arms.

When it comes to the distinction between retreat and surrender, the legal experts said, there is no ambiguity.

The difference was one of life or death for Iraqi forces, who have been told by their leadership to withdraw from Kuwait, but have been ordered point-blank by the allies to surrender or to flee unarmed and preferably on foot.

The allies will continue to fire upon armed forces moving in combat formations, but those who flee from combat without their weapons will not be shot at, American officials said.

Enemy soldiers who surrender, turning themselves in as prisoners, also will not be harmed, the United States said.

"War is a very difficult, dangerous business, but it is not without its rules," said Colonel Dewey Helmscamp, who teaches law at the National Defense University in Washington. "You know the old story that all is fair in love and war. Well that just is not true, at least not in war."

The rules of warfare date at least to the age of chivalry, and their modern versions have been encoded for more than a century.

In April 1863, the U.S. Army adopted an order signed by President Abraham Lincoln that formed the basis for efforts to codify the international law of war. The order said plainly that whether or not an enemy soldier was armed was crucial to deciding whether he could be attacked.

The document is known as the Lieber Instructions after its author, Francis Lieber, a German-American scholar who had been wounded in the Prussian Army at Waterloo.

Military necessity, the document said, "allows of capturing of every armed enemy." In another section the instructions said that once a man is "armed by a sovereign government and takes the soldier's oath of fidelity, he is a belligerent."

Later, the 1907 Hague Convention governing land warfare defined a belligerent as somebody under military command, openly armed, wearing uniform or insignia and otherwise following the rules of war. By breaking ranks and putting down arms, Iraqi soldiers could assert that they were nonbelligerents under this definition, and the American terms for withdrawal.

The difference between retreat and surrender is that surrender is in fact giving up," said Colonel Helmscamp. "A retreat, on the other hand, is an attempt to disengage from the battlefield, but not to remove oneself totally from the combat."

Reflecting the view of the Bush administration, he added: "There are no prohibitions in international law which prevent a force from attacking a withdrawing or retreating military force. On the other hand, if a force clearly signals its surrender, we do have an obligation to accept its surrender, and you are not allowed to engage me during the act of surrendering."

A civilian lawyer, Charles Patrizia, drew the same distinction.

"A retreating army is not an army which has surrendered," he said. "It may have lost a battle, but may yet seek to regroup and counterattack. Those troops, to the degree that they are armed or could be considered by the opposing forces to be armed, are still bound by the rules of war."

"Retreat is when you are required to pull your forces back as required by action of the attacking forces," he said. "The Iraqi Army is in full retreat."

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It's a 'Retreat,' U.S. Says, Not A Withdrawal

International Herald Tribune

Brigadier General Richard L. Neal of the U.S. Marines, at a briefing in Riyadh, rejected on Tuesday Iraq's description of the military situation in Kuwait.

"Saddam Hussein has described what has been occurring as a withdrawal," he said. "By definition, withdrawal is when you pull your forces back under pressure by the attacking forces."

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Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Bad News for Thailand

The military coup in Bangkok is a calamity for Thailand and a setback for U.S. interests in Southeast Asia. Washington is right to condemn the interruption of a promising democratic experiment and to suspend most U.S. aid. The new rulers have already backed off from their promise to hold elections within six months. A return to military-dominated regimes would cloud the bright future Thailand seemed to have in store.

General Sonthorn Kongsompong accuses Chaitichai Choonhavan, the elected prime minister whom he seized at gunpoint, of corruption and sheltering enemies of Thailand's constitutional monarchy. The first charge is probably true. Yet the military cannot credibly pose as the champion of cleaner government. It directly controls the Burmese, Laotian and Cambodian border regions, where enormous profits are made running drugs, guns, refugees and contraband gems. Many army officers run border trading companies themselves, and the armed forces maintain vital lifelines to loathsome neighbors like the State Law and Order Restoration Council in Burma and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.

As for the charge that the prime minister encouraged foes of the monarchy, King Bhumibol Adulyadej himself has intervened to defend the Chaitichai government against military pressure. Personal ambi-

tion and military contempt for democracy are the real forces behind this coup.

The Thai military has attempted 17 coups since it put an end to absolute monarchy in 1932. But the last successful coup occurred almost 15 years ago. Since then, democracy has begun to take root, especially since Mr. Chaitichai, himself a retired general, took office in 1988.

The Chaitichai government's progressive deregulation of the economy spurred double-digit growth rates. The boom worsened already severe social and environmental problems, but Mr. Chaitichai responded with initiatives like a ban on logging exports from vulnerable rain forests. He also worked hard for a Cambodian peace.

Washington has not suspended anti-narcotics aid. Thailand is the main base for U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency operations in the opium-growing Golden Triangle region that spans Thailand, Laos and Burma. Slowing the flow of drugs sometimes requires cooperation with undemocratic regimes. But, as Americans learned in Panama, it makes no sense to cooperate with military men who protect drug dealers. Unless Bangkok's new rulers show speedy progress against corruption and quickly restore democratic rule, Washington may have to cut anti-narcotics aid, too.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Penalizing Cambodians

The quiet tug of war over Cambodia between the Bush administration and its critics has found its way to the aid program: the part of policy most within congressional and public reach. The administration puts just token amounts of aid into programs administered through the Communist government of Hun Sen in Phnom Penh, reserving most of its help for a zone near the Thai border controlled by the non-Communist resistance. Critics, including a delegation dispatched recently by the New York-based Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, urge centering foreign humanitarian aid in Phnom Penh and increasing it quickly to meet Cambodia's needs.

The critics have a case. The needs are vast, due to the suffering wrought by a 12-year civil war still being pressed by the radical Khmer Rouge. The United Nations solution favored by the American government, the critics say, is too ambitious and too vulnerable to dereliction to be given priority over Cambodia's humanitarian and development requirements; better to funnel aid to and through Hun Sen — unrecognized and still largely isolated by Washington — since he is the most reliable available bulwark against a Khmer Rouge return to power. But Hun Sen himself suffers under the

liability of owing his power to Cambodia's nemesis, Vietnam — although the Vietnamese invasion forces that ousted the genocidal Khmer Rouge in 1979 have now evidently gone home. It is true that the UN plan is an uncertain distance from taking effect. Hun Sen drags his feet, principally because the plan calls on him to take the considerable risk of handing over his existing power to a large and as yet unformed UN transitional presence. Nonetheless, this plan remains the one vehicle still on the road to a Cambodian peace, the one vehicle that Americans, Soviets, Chinese, French and British, and all the Cambodian factions, are still nominally aboard.

For Washington to switch its political bet (and aid money) to Hun Sen before the United Nations plan has had a full testing would mean its immediate demise. But this should not mean an aid penalty for Cambodia. It should mean the opposite. American aid is in the \$20 million range; other nations, combined, do less. Considering Cambodia's immense needs, it seems less important to steer the aid from one desperate Cambodian recipient to another than to stir up more international aid, to provide more public American aid and to encourage private donors to help where they will.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

A Way Ahead for Chile

Chile's president, Patricio Aylwin, faces a tough challenge. His Commission for Truth and Reconciliation has reported on human rights violations during the 17-year dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet. Its report, yet to be released, is said to include powerful testimony on the atrocities that scarred those years. Mr. Aylwin must now decide how much of the report to make public and what, if anything, the government should do about the crimes. He needs to balance accountability with reconciliation.

Washington can and should reinforce Chilean democracy through free trade and investment rules. It should make certain the military understands that insubordination against civilian authorities would gravely damage relations with the United States. But there is no reason for second-guessing Mr. Aylwin's decisions on the report.

Some Chileans, Mr. Aylwin among them, felt that the chaos prevailing during the elected socialist presidency of Salvador Allende justified the September 1973 coup. Most Chileans agree that the Pinochet regime brought useful economic reforms; today's democratic government has continued the liberalization policies of the last decade. But most Chileans were frightened and repulsed by the atrocities of the Pinochet years, and

have been further horrified by secret killing fields unearthed since democracy's return. During the 1970s, political parties and labor unions were banned, their leaders killed, imprisoned or exiled. Torture was systematic. Enemies of the regime were hunted down and assassinated, even in the United States. As late as the 1980s, those kidnapped people and cut their throats. Soldiers set protesters on fire. Chileans now ask for official acknowledgment and condemnation of those crimes. Public confession and punishment would be more propitious.

In neighboring Argentina, prosecution of military leaders sparked armed revolts. General Pinochet remains in command of the army; the president is constitutionally barred from removing him. "If they touch one of my men," the general has warned, "the rule of law will end."

Perhaps the Catholic Church could sponsor a decent compromise. The church ministers bravely to victims of repression; its doctrine teaches forgiveness to the truly penitent. Legal punishment of Chile's heinous human rights crimes may not be possible, but the church might use its moral power to demand sincere and public contrition as a precondition for national reconciliation.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Other Comment

The Gulf Challenges Japan

When peace returns to the Gulf, Tokyo will need to ask itself what role it wants to assume in the postwar reconstruction. That is a big policy question for the beleaguered government of Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. But Tokyo needs to take some initiative now to begin coming to grips with it.

It may have already begun. Even as domestic bickering continues over its pledge of \$9 billion more in aid to the multinational forces in the Gulf, Tokyo has dispatched envoys to Israel and the Arab states to discuss Tokyo's Gulf policy and postwar economic assistance. Mr. Kaifu has said he will study aid requests from Asian countries but especially hard by the war.

While the domestic debate has been said to be about pacifism and the constitution, it has also been about internal politics. Some of the disclosures have been eye-opening. At one point, a maverick LDP member publicly acknowledged what has been widely known but little discussed: a tradition of LDP pay-offs to opposition parties.

—Los Angeles Times

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WE GO NOW TO OUR MILITARY ADVISER, MAJ. GEN. AMOS P. MOHBABULS, U.S. ARMY (RET.) — GENERAL, DOES THIS LATEST STATEMENT BY SADDAM HUSSEIN MEAN THE WAR IN THE GULF IS, INDEED, OVER?



Americans Should Support Democracy for Iraqis

By Jim Hoagland

RIYADH — "Whatever Will Be Will Be" was a favorite song of the 1950s. It also describes American political aims toward Iraq once Saddam Hussein's army is driven from Kuwait. Iraq's fate is not up to us, say the generals and political leaders who have sent U.S. forces to pound that Arab nation for more than 40 days and 40 nights. Que sera sera.

America's failure to offer its own

Sunnis have ruled over Kurds and Iraq's Shiite majority since British colonialists installed the Sunnis as the dominant political force in 1922.

ideas on the political aftermath of the assault it has unleashed to halt Saddam's war crimes in Kuwait is no longer a matter of military tactics or diplomatic evasion. It is not really a failure, either. It is an unacknowledged decision to let Saudi Arabia play the lead role in influencing what comes next politically in Iraq.

The Saudis have legitimate concerns about the turmoil that could

erupt on their borders in a post-Saddam Iraq. But they also have their own axes to grind in Iraq that could create new problems and tarnish the glow of Operation Desert Storm. The war has reached the point now where the United States must think seriously about enacting its support for democratic rule in Iraq and protection for the population groups that Saddam has abused.

Britain has already endorsed democracy for Iraq once Saddam is gone. But the United States, concerned about Saudi sensitivity, has declined to do so. Officials in the State Department's Human Rights Bureau who had received Iraqi demands in the past now decline to do so. The Saudis do not proclaim it publicly, but the result they favor is a military coup against Saddam by high-ranking officers. The new military regime in Baghdad would, in the Saudi view, be chastened and pliable, yet strong enough to keep control over Iraq's rebellious Kurdish and Shiite populations and keep Turkey from regaining influence in northern Iraq.

The war's ending should humiliate Saddam but not, humiliate the Iraqi army command, said one Saudi political source, acknowledging that his idea seemed to be at odds with the sweeping American-directed military campaign now under way.

This Saudi and others here are beginning to question whether the continued bombing of Baghdad and the suffering it inflicts on the city's exposed population are militarily worth the rising resentment provoked.

Even as American battlefield choices begin to shape the political aftermath, the United States continues to argue that the application of massive force against Iraq is a politically neutral act. But the initial rapid successes in the ground war bring closer the difficult moment of war termination. A continuing refusal to put forward its own ideas about Iraq's political future may lock the United States into a result that could quickly plunge Iraq back into turmoil and cancel some of the positive aspects of Operation Desert Storm.

Sunni Muslims have ruled over Iraq's Kurds and the Shiite Muslim majority since British colonialists installed the Sunnis as Iraq's dominant political force in 1922. Unlike the Shiites, the Sunnis had agreed to fight against the Ottoman Empire with the British in World War I and were rewarded with power.

Saddam, who claimed that he invaded Kuwait to erase an evil colonial legacy, was in fact the latest Sunni to follow this colonial pattern.

He was also the most brutal. Once the grip of his dictatorial regime is loosened, the Kurds and Shiites could attempt to take power, revenge or both. The Saudis would avoid this by keeping power in the hands of the Sunni-dominated officer corps or by installing a successor regime headed by exiled Iraqi Sunni generals.

The royal family has pledged to establish a more responsive and tolerant political system in Saudi Arabia and is moving in that direction. But it is concerned about the pressures that would be exerted by a democratic Baghdad regime, which would undoubtedly bring the Kurds and Shiites to prominent political roles that they have denied in the past.

While Saddam's murderous ambitions were an urgent threat, American silence on the political future of Iraq may have been a useful tactic. But the point is rapidly approaching when America's leaders can no longer hum a few bars of the old Doris Day song while secretly letting Saudi Arabia set policy.

America has invested too much in righting the wrongs of Saddam to end its Gulf crusade as an unmitigated bystander. Democracy is worth supporting in Iraq.

The Washington Post

A State's Internal Conditions Are Outsiders' Business

By Stanley Hoffmann

This is the second of two articles.

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — One lesson of the confrontation in the Gulf is the increasing importance of domestic conditions in fostering international conflict, and the difficulty that international society has in coping with its members' internal affairs.

World politics is no longer merely the game of states. It is a complex interplay involving this game, the global capitalist market and the voices of peoples, which tend more and more to assert their own demands and disrupt established borders or require endless repressive measures from governments eager to keep their subjects cowed.

The Gulf crisis has demonstrated the importance of domestic conditions in several ways. There would have been no United Nations coalition without the cooperation of the United States and the Soviet Union. Without it the United Nations would have been paralyzed again, by the permanent members' Security Council veto or by General Assembly divisions. But whether Moscow will remain cooperative depends on domestic developments in the Soviet Union, where the forces of repression and regression may be incapable of imposing, or unwilling to impose, a return to expansion, but may want to prevent further triumph of Western ideals and interests, especially at the expense of former Soviet clients.

Moreover, the possibility that the best-laid plans cooked up by states may fail if a sizable fraction of their publics turn against those de-

sires is not limited to the Soviet Union. One weakness of the present coalition is the deep sympathy that many Arabs feel for Saddam Hussein, not because they like him but because they see in him the champion of resistance to an America with, if not imperialist designs, at least a double standard in the Middle East.

And the American public might turn against the war if casualties should rise dramatically. This, too, will weigh on the future of world order, if it is conceived as a set of arrangements agreed upon over the phone or through quick visits merely among chiefs of government.

Finally, one of the best predictors of behavior abroad remains the way a government treats its own citizens. The conditions that lead to tyranny and large-scale violations of human rights at home sooner or later are likely to spill over into a search for enemies abroad. International society, obsessed with the Iranian revolution, closed its eyes to Saddam Hussein's massacre of the Kurds and to his destruction of opposition at home.

Earlier, Soviet oppression at home had led to oppression by Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. The attempt by white South African governments to maintain apartheid resulted in horrendous interventions in Angola and Mozambique.

Yet international law and the United Nations remain wedded to an unrealistic distinction between domestic and external affairs. They take into account the domestic behavior of states only through attempts at establishing international and regional regimes for the protection of human rights. But these regimes remain weak because enforcement mechanisms are deficient, because of considerable indifference or because many states are willing to tolerate violations by governments that are their allies or from which they expect benefits.

It is high time that the principle the United Nations has applied only to South Africa be generalized. No state should be able to claim that it treats its citizens in its sovereign right, if this treatment is likely to create international tensions.

But since the United Nations is no more than an assembly of governments, and since so many have skeletons in their closets, can we really expect that warning signs will light up and collective action will follow whenever serious human rights violations occur in countries whose position, resources, connections or leaders create risks for international peace?

It is probably too soon for such hope — but if this is the case, the new world order will be neither new nor just, nor will it involve order at all.

The writer is chairman of the Center for European Studies at Harvard University. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

The Middle East Needs Representative Government

By Graham E. Fuller

WASHINGTON — The moment of truth approaches for Saddam Hussein. Once again he has led his country and his people into disaster. It is this to be the last hurrah for self-aggrandizing Arab dictators who threaten all their neighbors and oppress their own people? Will the Gulf war turn out to be a political watershed in the region?

The Bush administration deserves the highest marks, not only for the military prosecution of the war but especially for the political skills it has shown in maintaining an extraordinary international consensus, including the Soviet Union.

And in Middle Eastern politics, desperate crisis sometimes seems to be the only midwife to new opportunities. There is no reason now why President George Bush cannot turn this bold war into an equally bold peace. Key, deep-rooted issues call for creative and innovative steps aimed at breaking this vicious political syndrome in the region that seems to produce a Saddam Hussein every decade.

First among them is the need for representative government in the region. Saddam could not have caused this war had the war-weary Iraqi public had more to say in the process. The new postwar order in Kuwait,

for example, presents an opportunity for renewing and strengthening earlier parliamentary experiments. Let these parliamentary efforts spread roots into Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states that have so far been resistant to them. Hopefully a new climate in the Middle East will encourage the establishment of representative governments in post-Saddam Iraq and in Syria as well.

Movement toward more participatory government will initially prove destabilizing in many states, as a new balance is struck among traditional political and social forces long dominated by authoritarianism. These unstable periods of profound political change will have to be crossed. If the region is ever to emerge from its authoritarian tunnel.

The new security order should move away from the old ad hoc coalitions of friends and enemies and toward a more permanent and structured organization that includes all the regional states, including Iraq and Iran. No order that excludes them can ever be viable.

The United States should play only a modest, over-the-horizon role in such an organization, if the new security arrangement is to be perceived as a legitimate regional force, and not simply some neocolonial instrument of the United States to perpetuate a hold on Middle Eastern oil.

Yet difficulties of the world need to be eased in the region if the world is not to face another explosion there soon. The Gulf oil states should drop the traditional generous welfare payments (with political strings attached) and start investing in the economies themselves — in Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco.

The oil states must also be willing to bestow social and political rights of citizenship on those Arab laborers and professionals from other states who are longtime residents of the Gulf and have helped build and run the Gulf economies, instead of leaving them as second- or third-class citizens. What else should Arab solidarity mean, if charity cannot start at home?

The unresolved Palestinian problem has cast its destabilizing shadow over all facets of Middle Eastern politics for more than 40 years. It needs prompt and vigorous attention, for it is the heart of the Arab-Israeli problem and the gateway to a broader settlement. The Arabs must now deal with Israel.

But Israel's Likud government argues that a settlement with other Arab states has to come before any Palestinian settlement. That position is disingenuous, designed to justify refusal to exchange land for peace. Palestinian emotional support for Saddam Hussein as the only leader who has "stood up to Israel" has been foolish, but it does not constitute grounds for disqualifying Palestinians from a right to self-determination in the West Bank and Gaza.

Yasser Arafat has badly damaged

his political standing by supremely bad judgment in remaining close to Saddam, but it is up to the Palestinians themselves to decide who in the end can best represent them.

Will the victorious Arab partners of this alliance move to develop more far-sighted and liberal policies in the region, or try to perpetuate positions of advantage against the others? Major opportunities and dangers present themselves in the wake of this conflict.

The writer is a former vice chairman of the CIA's National Intelligence Council. He contributed this comment to the Los Angeles Times.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1891: Parnell's Promise

PARIS — Mr. Parnell has promised the people of Ireland that in case he ever asks them to take measures outside of the Constitution — or, in other words, to fight — he will take his share of the peril. "I will be by your side and in your front." Unfortunately he does not explain how he proposes to accomplish this feat. That a man cannot be in two places at the same time, "barrin" that he is a bird, is well known in Ireland. A man who can be in two places at the same time is quite Irish enough to be a leader of Irishmen, no matter if he has not a drop of Celtic blood in his veins.

1916: Mesopotamia War

LONDON — The correspondent of the British press in Mesopotamia writes: "During the last month only reconnoitering has taken place. The Turks gave up attacks which proved too costly for them. The weather is improving, the days being fine and

Cheney Sees A Change In America

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — At the heart of the Pentagon, in the final 24 hours of the countdown to the land offensive in Kuwait, a remarkable calm prevailed. A visitor to the office of Defense Secretary Dick Cheney found no more scurrying or tension than, say, in the headquarters of an insurance company.

This former congressman learned long ago how to assert authority without shouting. Since the Gulf deployment began almost seven months ago, Mr. Cheney, now 50, has taken only two days off. And he has demonstrated the qualities that led President Gerald Ford to pick him as White House chief of staff when he was only 34, and that led his House colleagues to jump him over many senior Republicans into ever more important leadership posts.

What they saw in Mr. Cheney was an emotional balance and a mental discipline remarkable for anyone in the ego-ridden and risk-strewn field of government. It is hard to imagine another defense secretary who would have stolen an hour from Friday's countdown to the climactic battle in order to answer questions from a group of visiting high school students.

Mr. Cheney, a nonveteran, makes clear how much he values the military judgment of General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs. And he has strong views on the Gulf war's impact on the military, and the nation.

"I think the country's been tremendously impressed with the capability of the people in Operation Desert Storm," he said. "When you have, day after day... and hour after hour, repetition of the television coverage of our people out there in the Gulf, it's just one tremendous piece of advertising for the United States military and the people who serve in it."

Beyond the pride in the people serving in the Gulf, Mr. Cheney pointed to the performance of the weapons and equipment they are using. "It's American," he said. "It works. It works damn well. And I think people are truly and deeply proud of what we've accomplished."

He quickly added, "It's not over yet, and I'm very much aware of that." But he said that "potentially" the war could bring "a fundamental transformation" in attitudes.

"It's one of those watershed events, just as Vietnam was a watershed event in American politics and for the American military."

Mr. Cheney has spoken often of his concern that the Vietnam War bred a crippling public cynicism about the presidency and the Pentagon and that it planted unjustified doubts about America's motives in the world and its capacity to counter hostile forces abroad. Now he seemed to be saying that all that was in the past.

But Mr. Cheney is too well-balanced to lapse into jingoism. The man who cashed the air force chief of staff and canceled the navy's A-12 bomber program said, "I think caution is in order" on talk of America becoming the world's policeman.

"This happens to be one of those times when it is justified to... send American forces into combat to achieve important national objectives. But they are very rare, just because we do it successfully this once, it doesn't mean we should therefore assume that it's something we ought to fall back on automatically as the easy answer to international problems in the future."

"We have to remember that we don't have a dog in every fight, that we don't want to get involved in every single conflict.... By the same token, the fact that we've been able to demonstrate our ability to do it successfully, I think we give an enormous boost to the credibility of the United States government for a long time to come."

When we say we are interested in guaranteeing the security of a friend or an ally, it will — by golly — mean something. There won't be any doubt in anybody's mind about the United States' willingness and ability to keep those commitments. But again, caution is the word."

He has sent that message not only to proponents of military spending but to those who would press for deeper defense cuts than mandated by last year's budget agreement. That agreement requires Mr. Cheney to reduce active-duty forces by 521,000 troops — the equivalent of the Desert Storm deployment — in the next five years. Anything more, he argues, would entail deep risks.

In years ahead, as in the past seven months, the balance Mr. Cheney brings to his job will be a boon to the United States.

The Washington Post

the nights cold. The news of the Caucasus campaign in which the defeated and demoralized Turkish army are being pursued without respite is received with enthusiasm by the troops. The operations were carried out with insignificant losses compared with the great successes obtained."

1941: Somaliland Taken

CAIRO — The British announced today [Feb. 26] the capture of Mogadishu, capital of Italian Somaliland, and unofficially claimed effective control of all its 270,000 square miles, the first entire colony to be knocked out of the fascist empire. Mogadishu fell to British imperial troops who had thrust forward 400 miles from British Kenya. Other columns were declared to have struck on sixty miles up the Juba River to entrap the main Italian force between the captured towns of Geili and Brava and cut their last road of retreat.

—From the New York edition of the New York Herald Tribune

OPINION

Among the War's Lessons,
A Hope for Decent Change

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — Nobody knows the day the war will end, whatever frantic signal Saddam Hussein is sending out. The man has lost, but the war he started will take more lives as he thrashes about to save his neck.

But already we know certain important things. The war will end far more quickly than any major war in history, and in complete coalition victory.

We know something about ourselves too. We must never again allow the United States or any other country to arm our potential enemies — as the Soviet Union and Germany armed Iraq with the Scuds and technology that killed American troops in Saudi Arabia.

About the Middle East, we know that

wish anybody's children to have to face him again. They want him out, out.

If Saddam lives until the war is over, the United States has plenty of leverage it can use — including embargoes and war-crime trials. But even without him, the social contracts of political and economic decency needed to liberate the Middle East from its own history do not yet exist.

Most Middle Eastern countries are ruled by dictators who used the sword to take power, oppression to solidify it and the propaganda of hatred to maintain it. They teach their subjects to hate Christian, Jew, Hindu — and, except in periods of need, foreign nations. A villain is kept at hand to blame, instead of the rulers responsible.

No Arabs have suffered more than the Palestinians. Decade after decade, Arab rulers taught them that their trouble was the result of a capitalist-communist-Zionist conspiracy.

They led them into wars and defeats. They saw to it that the hard knot of Palestinian bitterness never dissolved. Millions are kept in miserable refugee camps. Palestinians are denied citizenship in many Arab lands.

Arab governments made puppets of the Palestinians. Decade after decade, Arab rulers taught them that their trouble was the result of a capitalist-communist-Zionist conspiracy.

They led them into wars and defeats. They saw to it that the hard knot of Palestinian bitterness never dissolved. Millions are kept in miserable refugee camps. Palestinians are denied citizenship in many Arab lands.

Now the only hope for the Palestinians is to recognize that not Israel but the PLO is dead. American sympathies of the PLO who tell them otherwise are preparing more tragedy for Palestinians.

Palestinians need a new start, divorced not only from Yasser Arafat, that world-class failure, but from the oaths, structure and terrorists of the PLO.

Only that break will clear the ground for real negotiation with Israel. Nobody negotiates with a sworn killer.

An Israeli offer for Palestinian elections leading to self-government but not independence is on the table.

The Israeli government should go ahead with it in open heart, instead of adding extremists to the cabinet, an act opposed by almost all of Israel's friends.

But Palestinians should understand that after they cheered the Scud attacks on Israel, even the elections proposal will face opposition from a large section of the Israeli public.

A new Palestinian movement could become the first in the Arab world to break with the life of hatred and war imposed by Arab rulers.

That would start real change in the Middle East. It would be the Palestinians' gift to other Arab peoples twisted and manipulated by leaders they never chose.

A moment of historic choice is coming for Palestinians. Such moments exist rarely, and briefly.

The New York Times.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

They Deserve Respect

Much of the reporting on the American peace movement has been ill-informed, cynical and disrespectful of individuals who happen to take their right to dissent seriously. It ignores the history of grass-roots organizing in the United States to stop the arms race and nuclear testing, and to promote a truly peacetime economy. Not even President George Bush has made the mistake of antagonizing peace activists the way his predecessors did.

BETTINA LANDE, Paris.

Dare to Make Peace

Regarding "Why Saudis Feared Defense and Are Reconsidering" (Opinion, Feb. 13) by Abdelaziz H. Fakhri:

Mr. Fahad says that "a stronger Saudi Arabia would contribute to the stability of the post-Saddam Middle East by partially offsetting Israeli (and, to a lesser extent, Iranian) military dominance in the area." Mr. Fahad's perspective is tragically flawed. In no aspect does Israel threaten Saudi Arabia.

Now that Saudi Arabia has had the courage to oppose Saddam, it should dare to make peace with Israel — not as a reward, but out of mutual interest.

SUE LERNER, Jerusalem.

Saddam's Double Standard

Saddam Hussein condemned the United States for the bombing of civilians in his country, while viciously firing Scud missiles at civilian targets in Israel.

An Innocent Nation with No Link to the

innocent nation with no link to the allied building in the Gulf.

Iraq should use its great oil resources more wisely, to rebuild itself and to help pay for the damage it has done to others.

MOSEH MALAMUD, Paris.

An Atomic Oversight

Some of your writers lately have concluded that aerial bombings and other airborne activities have rarely, if ever, sufficed to bring an enemy's capitulation during a major armed conflict. Might I remind these writers of the bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima?

ERIK LAWRENCE, Prangins, Switzerland.

Just Who Is Demanding?

Regarding the editorial "Foreign Aid Needs Fixing" (Feb. 15):

I agree wholeheartedly with the thrust of this Washington Post editorial — essentially that the effective provision of development assistance can be achieved only by affording maximum flexibility to decision-makers in the field.

But a throwaway phrase in the editorial caught my attention. Could someone kindly explain exactly from where derive "the demands for U.S. leadership around the world"? Can this reflect an assumption from centralized and myopic Washington, where opinion-formers and decision-makers seem neither able nor willing to recognize and rejoice in the diversity of the world community?

ROBERT PATTERSON, Rome.

Encore, Monsieur Bush

Regarding the report "Can't Read His Lips? Bush Turns to French" (Feb. 14):

If it really is true that the American electorate would consider George Bush as "effete and privileged" for being able to speak French, then isn't it time that this provincial attitude changed? What better way than by a president's example?

LEONARD H. SCHRANK, London.

Instead of hiding his ability to speak French, Mr. Bush should be showing it off, making a point of the economic importance of learning languages.

As an American living and working abroad, I have learned Mandarin and German, not just to make day-to-day living easier, but to perform better at work. Over the years, I have known many Americans on foreign assignments who were sent home because they could not, or would not, learn the language or culture. The jobs they left behind were either filled by foreigners or done away with.

The result of this lack of flexibility is that a growing number of American companies are no longer sending their employees abroad to gain badly needed international experience. Instead, they are hiring foreigners and bringing them to the States for training.

When more Americans realize that learning a foreign language is not a luxury but a necessity, we may be able to gain back some ground lost to the English-speaking Japanese and Germans.

KELLY EILEEN LAUKMAN, Sindelfingen, Germany.

Even Her Feminist Friends
See Her as 'Only' a Nurse

By Ellen D. Baer

PHILADELPHIA — At a recent party, a lawyer friend with whom I have shared feminist causes introduced me to her guests as "almost a doctor."

"No," I protested, "I am a nurse" — to which she replied, "Oh, no, Ellen, you're more than a nurse."

I know her intent was to enhance my status in her friends' eyes by describing my expertise in non-nurse terms, to rescue me from the indifference or even denigration that being "only" a nurse often engenders.

It has happened so often over the years that it has come to exemplify for me the terrible irony of feminism, which glorifies women who emulate masculine behavior, while virtually ignoring women who choose traditional female roles and careers.

I consider myself a dedicated feminist, but I refuse to accept a sort of feminism that abandons feminine caring roles in order to achieve progress.

Such capitulation to masculine definitions is unacceptable and especially disappointing when promoted by women.

I believe this has occurred with nursing because many feminists have found it too painful to look seriously at nurses' experience. It has been easier for them to hope that the fault lay within nursing, blaming the victim, as it were.

The term "feminism" has come to mean "women doing what men do." If a woman merges and acquires, negotiates or foregoes and yields an axe or scalpel with the same effect as a man, she is judged to be liberated.

I know it is important to struggle for women's right to choose to be neurosurgeons, lawyers or bankers.

But why should that also mean that millions of us who choose to be nurses, teachers, librarians, mothers and homemakers are depicted as dumb, unliberated or prisoners of patriarchy?

It is not surprising when men denigrate nurses. But when ostensibly liberated women do so, it is infuriating.

I look at the shelves of libraries and bookstores, or at television, and I get angry.

How dare Robin Norwood argue in the book "Women Who Love Too Much" that women from dysfunctional families are "overrepresented" in fields such as nursing? Why did Working Women magazine list nursing, teaching and social work in its 1988 "Ten Worst Jobs" annual report? And why didn't Spelling Productions correct the dumb and oversexed nurse image portrayed on "Nightingales," the now defunct television series?

The answer is that, in general terms, nurses are women whom people can denigrate and still get away with it. No angry feminists write books protesting the poor treatment of nurses.

I think nurses and other care-givers are women about whom many feminists like to feel superior.

For 100 years, periodic nursing shortages have generated flurries of newspaper articles, salary increases and image-enhancement campaigns that yield some new recruits for nursing.

But there will be no fundamental changes until people, including feminists, realize nursing's critical importance in health care.

Professional nursing requires brains, education, judgment, fortitude, inventiveness, split-second decision-making, interpersonal competence and day-after-day determination.

When feminists or their family members are sick they want their own nurses to have all those traits, but they do not assign those attributes to the group as a whole. Yet the fact that more than 2 million people — 97 percent of them female — choose to be nurses in the face of hostility and contempt testifies to the tremendous appeal of nursing, an intellectual challenge with exquisite personal satisfaction.

Just imagine life without nurses. If some feminists have their way and all the smart women end up in law firms, banks and board rooms, what will become of the quality of our lives?

Lewis Thomas, the eminent physician and biologist, has described nurses as the "glue" that holds the health-care system together.

But that glue is losing its grip because the attitudes expressed by the women's movement cause many young people not to choose to be nurses, hospital boards not to include them in decision-making, physicians not to act like colleagues and politicians not to support their education or reimbursement for their services.

To fully comprehend how much nurses know, how important their work is and how little they are credited is to understand the depth of the negative status of women in society.

It is imperative that real feminists address the needs of women doing "women's work."

Feminism will have succeeded not only when females have equal access to all fields but when traditionally female professions, such as nursing, gain the high value and solid respect they deserve.

The writer is associate professor at the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing. She contributed this comment to The New York Times.

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The final scene of Luigi Cherubini's "Lodoiska," his 1791 *comédie héroïque* revived in a new production by La Scala, Milan.

Cherubini's Revolutionary 'Lodoiska'

By David Stevens
International Herald Tribune

MILAN — There is more than one way to play the Mozart Year game, even while disdaining to contribute to the market glut.

La Scala opened in December with a new production of "Idomeneo" — noblesse oblige. For its second major effort of the season it has turned to Luigi Cherubini's "Lodoiska," the composer's first success in Paris, where it was produced at the Théâtre Feytaud — a competitor of the Opéra Comique — six months before the Viennese master died.

Mere coincidence, yet one way of honoring a composer is to put the works in their context. Cherubini, who revered Mozart and was in turn admired by Beethoven, is in many ways the great link between the two, although he was only four years younger than Mozart and outlived Beethoven by 15. Like Mozart he was the son of a musician — his father was cellist at the Teatro della Pergola in Florence — and his thorough and early training gave him the same chameleon-like stylistic versatility.

Like many an Italian composer, he went abroad to seek his fortune. Not finding it in London, he settled in Paris in 1788. The timing of this move was less than impeccable, and his early patronage by the violinist-impresario Viotti, himself a protégé of Marie Antoinette, was certainly a problem. Yet he survived not only that, but Napoleon's later disfavor, to become the Revolutionary era's most durable musical voice. "Lodoiska" (1791), "Médée" (1797) and "Les deux journées" (1800), all produced at the Feytaud,

defined an operatic epoch. Cherubini outlived the taste for his music, but as director of the Paris Conservatoire for the last 20 years of his life — he died in 1842 — he was the archetypal conservative French musician. In his later years he composed mainly church music, including a splendid Requiem that was used for his own funeral.

While "Médée" has had a Callas to generate a revival in modern times, "Lodoiska" has had very few opportunities to demonstrate why it was so wildly popular — 200 performances in a fairly short time. The Italian premiere seems to have taken place only in 1950, also at La Scala.

It is a piece a sonnet, a rescue opera, one of the many ephemeral genres generated by the French Revolution, and thanks to Beethoven's "Fidelio" a genre that still has its place in the repertoire. It is also arguably the work with which Cherubini lifted opera from its trivial ancestry into a vehicle for serious musical-dramatic treatment. At its premiere, it is said, even Grétry, the reigning master of the comic genre, climbed onto the stage to hail the composer.

It is certainly not the story that explains the success of "Lodoiska" — Cherubini, alas, had no da Ponte. Lodoiska is a Polish princess imprisoned by the lecherous baron Dourlinski. Her beloved, Floreski, finally rescues her with massive last minute help from one Tizikan, the improbably high-minded head of a Tartar horde who has befriended Floreski in the first scene and who himself has a few bones to pick with the irascible Dourlinski.

This is not great drama, and Poland of the 17th century does not seem relevant to Paris

in 1791, but the improbable story must have had a certain resonance in the Revolution, especially the heightened importance of servants and other common folk.

But what must really have startled the first audiences was Cherubini's musical response to the subject — the rich orchestration, the preference for ensemble and choral scenes over static arias, the solid formal and harmonic structure. The finales of all three acts of this *comédie héroïque* are complex and extended pieces that move the action along — the finale of the last act is of a richness worthy of comparing to the Act 2 finale of "The Marriage of Figaro," the bona fide of a real musical dramatist. Cherubini lacked the sharp dramatic intuition of a Mozart and the emotional intensity of a Beethoven, and that, along with a certain austerity and Chaucian reserve, is perhaps why his place in today's repertoire is relatively small.

RICCARDO MUTI conducted with his customary intensity and attention to detail and the multinational cast was stylistically coherent — although the French in the spoken dialogue of this original-language staging was highly variable. The uniformly excellent cast was headed by Mariella Devia in the title role, Bernard Lombardo as Floreski, Thomas Moser as the Tartar chieftain and William Shimell as the Dracula-like baron.

Luca Ronconi's staging was a model of straightforward clarity, leaving novelty to Margherita Faller's sets, with their complex illusionist perspective dramatically extending the context of individual scenes — giving

the impression of simultaneously seeing the stage effects from several angles.

At the same time, La Scala is playing another relatively neglected work. Although Puccini's "La Fanciulla del West" has not been consigned to the oblivion of "Lodoiska," neither has it enjoyed the popularity of other Puccini works — "Tosca," say, with which it has several affinities plus a far more interesting orchestral garb. Minnie, the virginal bartender; Dick Johnson, the romantic bandit *malgré lui*; and Jack Rance, the lustful but fastidious sheriff, are siblings under the skin to Tosca, Cavaradossi and Scarpia in a California gold rush atmosphere.

The best thing about the performance Saturday was the sound that Lorin Maazel drew from the Scala orchestra, sound put on paper by a Puccini who knew what was going on in the contemporary musical world from Paris to Vienna, and vocally in which the arias, with one exception, are absorbed into the total musical fabric.

Giovanna Casolla as Minnie was touching and as credible as any Bible-reading barmaid could be, and she sang strongly after a rough start. Giuseppe Giacomini was the experienced if not impassioned Johnson, and Jean-Philippe Lafont a rough-hewn lawman.

The staging by Jonathan Miller was straightforward, while the sets by Stefanos Lazaridis offered a slightly politicized view of the golden west — for the high, factory-like interior of the first act and the mining machinery of the last act, in place of the usual forest, read capitalism. Sue Blane's costumes neatly individualized the many denizens of the Polka saloon.

THE LONDON STAGE

New Theater, Old Laughs

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Three cheers for Sam Walters and the London borough of Richmond, who managed in the midst of what is emerging as the worst recession to hit the British theater since the war to open a \$2 million playhouse.

Designed by the architect of the National's Cottesloe stage, Iain Mackintosh, and in fact the first major new theater to open in London since that was raised in the early 1970s, the new Orange Tree in Richmond is the result of a planning deal concerning an office block and a vociferous and affluent local community prepared not only to demand a civic theater but also to pay for a good deal of its cost.

There has actually been an Orange Tree theater in Richmond since 1971, always run by the director Sam Walters in the upstairs room of a pub of that name. In moving across the street to purpose-built premises, he has brilliantly maintained the atmosphere of in-the-round intimacy while providing infinitely more comfortable seating and bar facilities for an audience of just under 200 on two circular levels.

The Orange Tree's policy has always set it apart from other theaters on the London fringe. Though not an overtly political space, it has housed many of the plays of Vaclav Havel, both as prisoner and president. It has also specialized in the rediscovery of unjustly ignored dramatists of the 1940s, such as Rodney Ackland and John Whiting, staged the occasional mini-musical, and generally focused on scripts that have somehow slipped through other nets.

Characteristically, therefore, Walters's first production on his new stage is of "All in the Wrong," a Restoration comedy from 1761 that would seem, like its author, Arthur Murphy, to have been almost totally unrevived in the intervening two centuries. It is not the most wonderful of comedies, but it



Suzi Quatro as Tallulah.

does have a kind of romantic energy and joy in its frenzied determination to get various apparently ill-matched couples safely up to and beyond the altar, despite deep confusions of identity and purpose.

Congreve and Sheridan may have done all this rather more expertly, but what Murphy has in common with the Orange Tree is an unashamed delight in sheer theatricality. Characters are inadequately hidden in cupboards and sedan chairs, only to tumble out at climactic moments of revelation and despair, so that one can suddenly start to see the link from Restoration flamboyance and foppiness all the way through to the farces of Ben Travers and Ray Cooney and Alan Ayckbourn.

The British theatergoer has always revelled in the sight of true love going appallingly awry, and in the characters of Sir John and Lady Restless (Paul Shelley and Liz Crowther) we have the perfect Ayckbourn prototypes of a couple causing chaos all around them while totally convinced that they are merely sorting out their own little marital difficulties.

In a swift and sure and agile production, using every square inch of his limited space, Walters has orchestrated an exquisite little chamber concert of a comedy redis-

covered only in the nick of time, while his cast of 12 has already acquired a tumultuous and coherent company spirit that should be the envy of many more permanent and better-financed troupes.

On the studio stage of the Lyric Hammersmith, the British premiere of "The Royal Table" by the East German dramatist Christoph Hein, turns out to be a desperately ponderous and aimless updating of King Arthur and his knights to take account of the collapse of the old Communist hierarchies.

The idea itself might have been a neat one, if you can accept old Communist ideas as a kind of Holy Grail that somehow got mislaid, but endless debates about the future of freedom as we know it become a little repetitive in a script that makes no real distinction between Lancelot and Mordred. To see how this should really be done, either check out David Edgar's "The Shape of the Table" at the National or go back to the video of "Camelot."

Out at the Queens Theatre Hornchurch, Suzi Quatro, a rock singer of considerable intelligence and songwriting talent, has a stage biography of Tallulah Bankhead, also only narrowly beaten by Mel Brooks's "Springtime for Hitler" as one of the worst singalongs of recent times.

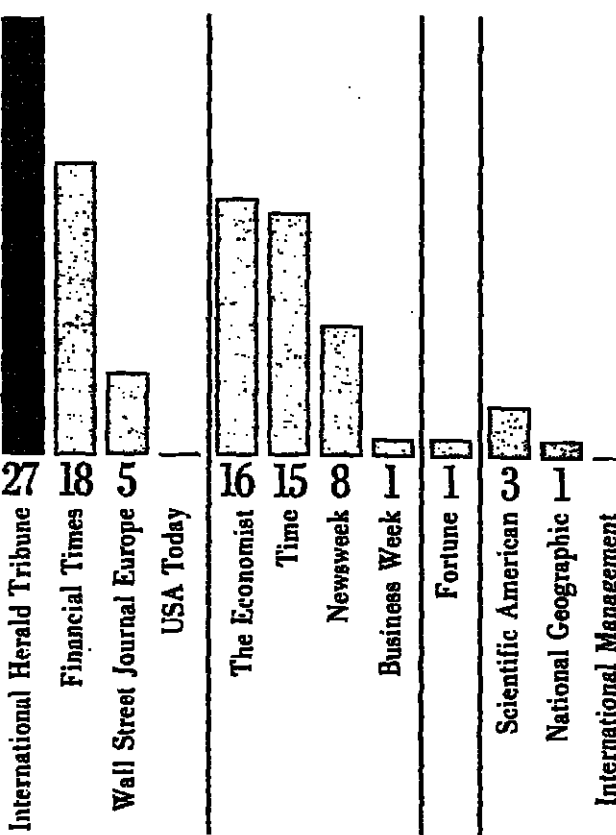
The problem is essentially Bankhead herself, who despite a few good one-liners ("I am as pure as the driven slush") did not really lead a life of any dramatic coherence and therefore does not lend herself to any kind of a script.

The songs in "Tallulah Who?" might have made an interesting record, but the understandably frantic attempts of the writer William Rushon and the director Christopher Renshaw to give this shambles any kind of theatrical shape end up in an embarrassing morass of backstage clichés and bedroom shenanigans through which Quatro (as Tallulah) and a supporting cast of seven race with the agonized look of actors desperately hoping there are no friends or potential employers in the audience.

REACHING THE EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP

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* Source: Who's Who in Europe Survey: 1990

Herald Tribune

Research That Sets The Stage

NEW YORK — The smoke-filled speakeasies of the 1920s are everywhere for Debra Gilboff. Neither are the rattling trains of the 1940s, the ones that carried troops all over Europe.

In fact, unearthing the visual details of worlds that have long since disappeared is what information for inspiration. Gilboff's Manhattan research company, due for release in the fall, is called "The Stage." Gilboff, 35, was an actress, but she found herself more interested in research about the characters she was playing than in the actual production.

Ten years ago, a friend asked for help in finding photographs of 1940s train cars for "Billie Blue," and Gilboff began a career that would lead her into hundreds of scavenger hunts.

Her studio apartment soon became home for the thousands of volumes of old photos and other references that are now her tools. "The texture of a time gone by is often found in a book in someone's attic or used bookstore," she said. "For me, finding it is thrilling."

Gilboff is trying to walk around the world of Heagy Carmichael for the coming musical "Hoggy and Bix." Among her stops is a former speakeasy.

"No one took pictures inside speakeasies," she said. "Drinking was illegal, so no one wanted to be photographed in the act. It's been a challenge to find something more revealing than a picture of a man being carried out of one."

Some photos show up in unlikely places, but "whatever it is — a 1940s Beverly Hills map of the movie stars' homes or the Brooklyn skyline of 1910 — someone recorded what it looked like," Gilboff said. "It's out there just waiting to be found."

ACROSS

22 — bene
24 Rai's tenure
25 Restaurant order
26 Old clothes dealer
31 Mahatma's piece
32 Famed opera impresario
33 Madcap V.I.P.
34 Black bird
35 Actress Anna 1973-1978

DOWN

36 General Curtis
37 Peet
38 Suk-acorn
39 Preserved
40 Inscribed pillar
41 Chemical compounds
42 Breathe
43 The gentry
44 Lifer's opposite
45 Dierckx
46 Shoo off
47 Ballerina's pete
48 Behind schedule
49 Best and Forster
50 Russian river
51 Unmarginal person
52 Retreats
53 Midge

Solution to Previous Puzzle

STEP FLAP TAPED
NOVA LATE ABASE
AGES AMOR TENSE
PANTOMIMIST JAM
ELECTRA MODERNS
POPLOGLER RIDGE
LEND OILED TROY
MEDOC NOLOS UTE
ORATES COSMOS
BEWARE MUSE
LAD PANDEMNIUM
AGILE AIDE SORA
SLEET GRIN ETAL
TESTIS SEAT SALT

4 Ousted from a camp cot?
5 Brat's cousin
6 Feeler
7 Show cynicism
8 Type of wind
9 Horde
10 Indian pipe smoker?
11 Cramp
12 Spanish Mmes.
14 — so —
die Shik
17 Eaglewood
21 Greeting in Genoa
23 Bore
25 Rows of rows
26 "Everyone repeat?"
27 Less risky
29 Infirm, in a way
30 Singer Simone
31 Friend's word
32 Bailed
36 Gave a glossy Irish
37 Boxing area in a prison?
39 Baby's bed

40 Trident
42 Romeo or Juliet
44 Last year's froth
46 Disintegrate
48 Cinders of comics
49 Lowest high tide
50 East Indian hemp
52 Yemeni seaport
53 Hindu god
54 Part of O.E.D.
57 Flivver fuel

New York Times, edited by Eugene Malachuk.

DINING OUT

FLERSBURG	PARIS 8th	PARIS 8th	PARIS 17th
CHEZ PAUL Hotel de la Ville "Gervais" (Paris) 8-200 "Delicatessen" (Paris) 8-200 "Delicatessen" (Paris) 8-200	YUGARAJ Of all the Indian restaurants, this is by far the best & most authentic. (GALLI-ALLIUM) Closed Monday 14, rue de la Chapelle. Tel. 43.26.44.91.	LE TAGORE DU BENGAL The second "Tagore" in Paris. Much specialties. One of the best exotic foreign restaurants in Paris. 17, rue de la Chapelle. Tel. 43.26.44.91.	AL GOLDENBERG multi-cuisine - Parisian - Cream cheese bagel and hot homemade - Cheese cake & all the best Jewish spec. 67 Av. de Wagram. Tel. 42.22.34.79. Every day up to midnight.
PARIS 1st L'ALSACE AUX HALLES Stefan Fils. Choucroute. Dry and light. 16, rue de la Chapelle. Tel. 43.26.44.91.	PARIS 7th CHEZ LES ANGES In the Midtown Circle. Burgundy Spec. Cashonment. Looking. Cl. on Sat. eve. 54, Bd. Lefebvre. Tel. 47.03.99.85.	PARIS 15th LE TAGORE The new Parisian Indian restaurant. Much specialties. One of the best exotic foreign restaurants in Paris. 17, rue de la Chapelle. Tel. 43.26.44.91.	ROME DA MEO PATACCA Tuscan-style. Best. Specialties for fine food, music & folklore. 00153 Roma, Piazza De' Medici 31. Tel. 06-5816176. 5822193. Fax 582252.
PARIS 8th LE CONTRE ACTUEL Between Chatelet and Hotel de Ville A fine Parisian bistro. Traditional French cuisine. About 150 fr. 4, rue de la Chapelle. Tel. 43.26.44.91.	THOUMIEUX Specialties of the South-West. Confit de canard & coq au vin. Open daily. 79, St-Denis. Tel. 47.03.99.85. Near Invalides Terminal.	PARIS 15th LE WESTERN The western restaurant in Paris. Formula Western. 17, rue de la Chapelle. Tel. 43.26.44.91.	VIENNA KERVANSARAY Turkish & Lev. specialties. Label bar, best seafood restaurant. 1st floor. Mohrstr. 9. Tel. 5128943. Air conditioned. 80 m. Opera. Mon-3 p.m. & 6 p.m.-1 a.m., except Sunday. Open holidays.

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Unilever Spends £195 Million In Restructuring for 1992

By Leigh Bruce

LONDON — Unilever, the British-Dutch consumer-goods and food giant, forecasted the restructuring of its European operations, announcing Tuesday an extraordinary charge of £195 million (\$375 million) to pay for job cuts, factory closures and other measures designed to prepare for a single market after 1992.

Unilever's joint chairman, Sir Michael Angus, said the company would cut its 110,000-strong European workforce by 5 percent in the next three years to "ensure that we can make full use of the unique opportunity offered by the economic integration of Unilever's most important market."

He added that an unspecified number of the group's 240 factories in Europe could be closed as a result and that the consolidation would affect all businesses and all geographical areas. Unilever derives 60 percent of its revenue from the European market.

In Rotterdam, the Dutch joint chairman, Floris Molier, asserted that Unilever would seek to avoid forced layoffs as much as possible, noting that 2,500 to 3,000 people leave the group each year through attrition.

Analysts took the announcement in stride. They said that since the realization of a single market is now close at hand and irreversible, companies are accelerating restructuring plans.

Joint Elton of James Capel & Co. said, "1992 is going to bring a pan-European approach to production that will now have to be put in place without delay by Unilever and all its competitors."

Sir Michael unveiled the group's restructuring plans when he announced results for 1990. Unilever reported a 7.6 decline in net profit

for 1990 after the extraordinary charge. Net profit before the charge increased 12 percent, to £1.11 billion from £993 million.

In the fourth quarter, however, the increase was only 2 percent, reflecting tough economic conditions in North America, Britain, Brazil and other major markets.

Analysts said the group's performance was fractionally better than expectations but warned that this year would be more difficult.

"The 1990 results only partly reflect world economic trends," said Julian Hardwick of Barclays de Zoete Wedd.

Last year's results were buoyed by particularly strong performance in Europe, where operating profit increased by 19 percent and margins increased to 9.1 percent from 8.3 percent. European operations posted an increase in operating profit, to £205 million from £168 million. Strong sales in the former East Germany, contributed additional revenue £150 million.

In North America, where the group spent heavily on advertising and product launches, operating profit in the fourth quarter fell to

£166 million from £180 million last year. Operating margins fell to 7.6 percent from 10 percent.

In the rest of the world excluding Europe, operating profit fell to £130 million from £165 million.

The analysts attributed the group's performance in Europe to efforts to improve productivity in recent years and to relatively stronger growth on the Continent compared with other major markets.

But they warned that this European strength should not obscure the fact that competition will intensify as a result of market unification in 1992.

"What you'll see is difficulty keeping profit growth above the rate of inflation," said Christopher Wickham of Lehman Brothers International.

He and others said further restructuring efforts could well be necessary to confront the challenges ahead.

Despite the tough outlook, the analysts said that Unilever is well placed to be competitive.

"They will continue to outperform most companies in the sector," Mr. Hardwick said.

GM Cancels Venture With Slovak Carmaker

Reuters

PRAGUE — General Motors Corp. is pulling out of a deal to produce gear boxes with the Slovak automaker Bratislava Automotive Zavody and instead may make the component for Opel cars in Austria, an executive of the U.S.-based giant said Tuesday.

GM's managing director for Czechoslovakia, Andrej Barak, said that the arrangement, which had been approved by the Slovak regional government, was off. GM had not yet decided where the gear-box contract would go, but Austria was the front-runner among several interested countries, he said.

"The Slovak side didn't manage to solve some problems about the deal," he said. "We couldn't wait any longer. Engines are ready, other parts too, and the cars must be assembled by 1992."

The Slovak regional government announced on Feb. 5 that it had chosen General Motors from several major automakers to set up a joint venture with BAZ.

The Bratislava-based company makes components for Skoda and other car builders but wanted to expand by building gear boxes and assembling vehicles in partnership with a foreign company.

BAZ's director general, Stefan Chudoba, told the official news agency CTK last week that several other foreign carmakers were still interested in collaborating with BAZ. These, he said, included Volkswagen AG, which has agreed to take a major stake in AZNP Mlada Boleslav, the company that makes Skoda cars.

VW's Skoda deal has also run into problems, with pressure coming from some members of the national legislature and from the Economic Ministry to change its terms. As the arrangement stands, VW is to pay \$5 billion DM (\$5.4 billion) for a stake in the Skoda maker, and will invest up to \$5 billion in Skoda's plants.

GM, for its part, is building a car factory in Eisenach, eastern Germany, to be operated by its Adam Opel AG subsidiary.

NatWest Disappoints U.K. Market

Reuters

LONDON — Britain's second-largest commercial bank, National Westminster Bank PLC, said Tuesday that its 1990 pretax profit had been sharply hit by losses at its U.S. bank subsidiary and British equities operations.

The group reported profit of £504 million (\$962 million), compared with £404 million the previous year. But this 25 percent increase was largely due to a large provision for Third World debt in 1989. The underlying trend was a decline of 12 percent over the year.

NatWest also announced that it was leaving its final dividend unchanged, disappointing investors. Its stock fell 4 pence to close at 291 pence a share in heavy volume.

The group's U.S. subsidiary, NatWest Bancorp., reported a £169 million loss for 1990, compared with a 1989 profit of £129 million before debt provisions.

Losses at NatWest's British investment-banking arm, NatWest Investment Bank, grew to £49 million from £16 million, mainly due to the stock-market downturn.

NatWest's chairman, Lord Alexander, said the bank would maintain its commitment to both unprofitable areas, but said that sooner or later they would both have to start making money.

Alison Deuchars, an analyst at the brokerage Smith New Court, said the equities business had been a big drain on the bank's resources. "It has been a loss-maker almost from the outset and there is up to £500 million of capital tied up in it," she said.

Lord Alexander said the U.S. subsidiary was suffering from a setback in the American economy and the property market in particular. "We have to be absolutely certain that managing that through in a reasonable time it could reach good grades of profitability," he said. "Otherwise there is no justification for us being there."

NatWest held its final dividend unchanged at 11.37 pence.

This made a 5 percent increase, compared with an average cost-of-living rise of 9.5 percent for 1990; Ms. Deuchars said it was the first time in five years the bank's payment had fallen behind inflation.

"The NatWest decision looks like a bullish signal for the current year," said Rod Barrett, analyst at Goldman Sachs.

The difficult trading conditions were reflected in the bank's provisions for bad and doubtful debts, which increased to £123 billion from £445 million.

Investor's Europe

Exchange	Index	Tuesday Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Frankfurt DAX	1990	2300	2275	+1.08
London FTSE 100 Index	1990	2225	2215	+0.45
Paris CAC 40	1990	1700	1680	+1.19
Amsterdam CBS Trend	1990	88.20	88.40	-0.23
Brussels Stock Index	1990	5580.24	5578.36	+0.03
Frankfurt DAX	1990	1558.24	1601.15	-2.68
Frankfurt FAZ	1990	663.79	678.31	-2.14
Helsinki UNITAS	1990	399.50	393.50	+1.52
London Financial Times 30	1990	1855.00	1866.50	-0.62
London FTSE 100	1990	2322.20	2335.50	-0.57
Madrid General Index	1990	262.68	267.41	-1.77
Milan MIB	1990	1121.00	1134.00	-1.15
Paris CAC 40	1990	1712.31	1745.17	-1.88
Stockholm Aftersvanden	1990	1019.60	997.59	+2.21
Vienna Stock Index	1990	556.66	560.11	-0.62
Zurich SSS	1990	584.90	592.30	-1.25

Sources: Reuters, AFP International Herald Tribune

French Trade Deficit Narrowed in January

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — France's trade deficit narrowed by more than one-third in January due to strong demand from Germany and a smaller oil bill, the government said Tuesday.

After stripping out seasonal factors that distort import and export trends, the customs office reported the deficit narrowed to 5.84 billion francs (\$1.13 billion) from 9.33 billion francs in December.

But the gap remained larger than the 4 billion francs that the markets had expected.

Economists said the detailed breakdown showed some disturbing trends.

France's surplus on farm trade and military goods, two traditional strengths, fell markedly in January, while the low dollar took a toll on trade with the United States.

The deficit with the United States, whose exporters have gained a competitive edge in world markets because of the cheap dollar, grew to 3.8 billion francs from 2.93 billion in December. In January 1990 the gap was only 2.41 billion francs.

But booming demand from unified Germany helped France narrow its deficit with its powerful neighbor to 1.51 billion francs from 1.92 billion francs in December and 2.70 billion francs in January 1990.

Jacobs to Buy Stake in Adia

Reuters

SAARBRUCKEN, Germany — The German retailer ASKO Deutsche Kaufhaus AG said Tuesday that it and Klaus Jacobs, former chairman of the Swiss group Jacobs Suchard AG, had bought a majority interest in the Swiss job agency Adia SA.

ASKO said that the agreed price was 1,100 Swiss francs (\$839) per share for 700,000 Adia bearer shares, or 770 million francs.

ASKO said plans for Omni Holding AG, a Swiss investment group, to take a 48 percent stake in ASKO's Swiss subsidiary, Conoco Holding AG, had been dropped.

EC Prepares to Push for Japan Market Access

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BRUSSELS — The European Community's competition commissioner, announcing access to EC financial markets as a lure, is beginning a mission to Japan this week to persuade Tokyo to open its markets.

EC officials said that the commissioner, Sir Leon Brittan, would present a list of demands during three days of meetings beginning Thursday with Finance Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and banking, industry and business leaders.

A commission spokesman said Sir Leon would be urging that foreign financial companies, such as banks and insurance and investment firms, be treated in the same way as their Japanese counterparts.

Sources said the EC Commission wanted to negotiate equal access and conditions for European companies in Japan and for Japanese companies in the Community after 1992, when the 12-nation bloc adopts a single internal market.

Tokyo has made few moves to abolish barriers that prevent European companies and exporters from gaining access to the market.

"There have been improvements, but not nearly enough," one EC official said.

Earlier this month, U.S.-Japanese talks over the pace of Japanese financial-services deregulation failed. No date was set to continue the negotiations, which began in 1984.

Other countries view Japan's deregulation of these services as crucial to their entry and competition in the markets.

TRADE: Bush to Seek Extension

(Continued from first finance page)

the president's deadline extension. "Although it will be molded by the desire to satisfy local constituents, this debate will define for the long term whether we go down a path of protectionism or multilateralism," said Ronald A. Brand, a University of Pittsburgh professor.

Senator Max Baucus, Democrat of Montana and chairman of the Senate Finance Committee's trade subcommittee, estimated that there were 35 to 40 votes against the president in the 100-member Senate, 40 votes, including his own, in favor and about 20 to 25 senators uncommitted.

A House Democratic aide, who asked not to be identified, said the president would lose if the vote were to come within the next week.

EC foreign ministers agreed last week to Japan's request for a joint declaration of relations, aimed at strengthening their links.

In a recent interview, Sir Leon said that the Community and Japan "must work together toward the removal of remaining obstacles, which would enable European in-

dustry to expand in Japan just as Japanese companies have expanded successfully in Europe."

Among the "obstacles" he is to discuss are control of interest rates, restrictive licenses for banking and other financial services and the lenient penalties imposed on Japanese cartels for breaching rules on competition.

He said he would be pressing Japan to allow the entry of foreign commercial banks.

"You cannot expect banks from any country to be allowed into the EC if there is discrimination against European banks in that country," he added.

The Community's exports to Japan grew 9.2 percent in the first nine months of 1990, while its imports from Japan dropped by 1.4 percent, EC figures show. But the EC's trade deficit with Tokyo over the first three quarters still stood at 19.1 billion European currency units (\$25.7 billion).

For years, Tokyo has pledged to drop barriers that perpetuate its surplus. The Community lost patience late last year, however, when Japan failed in General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks to keep promises to open its markets to EC farm, fisheries and leather products.

They would wish to provide additional assistance and what degree of conditionality should be attached."

By contrast, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland have moved boldly to transform their economies to full-fledged market economies and "should be able to keep aggregate borrowing needs under control and to obtain significant flows from export credit agencies and international financial institutions."

Still, domestic difficulties compounded by the Gulf war and the new system of settling debts with the Soviet Union in convertible currencies mean that external financing needs "are likely to grow appreciably" next year and subsequently.

BaE Profit Up 13% in Year

Reuters

LONDON — Britain's largest military contractor, British Aerospace PLC, on Tuesday reported a solid 13 percent profit rise for 1990, giving its shares a lift and leading industry analysts to predict more gains in 1991.

It said 1990 pretax profit rose to £376 million (\$720 million), from 1989's £333 million. BaE's stock closed up 11 pence at 574 pence.

BaE has seen its products in wide use during the Gulf War, but it gave no specific estimates of how that might affect its business. It makes the Tornado fighter, the vertical take-off Harrier and guided weapons systems. Its small-arms and ammunition subsidiary, Royal Ordnance PLC, has been working at full capacity for months.

"Profit growth is sustainable because of the long-term nature of a lot of the business," said Pete Deighton, analyst at County Natwest, who expects pretax profit of £430 million in 1991.

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NYSE

Table includes the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trade elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Continued)

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

12 Month	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	12 Month
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NASDAQ

Tuesday's Prices
 NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time.
 This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000
 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is
 updated twice a year.

Line	Part No.	Description	QTY	Unit Price	Total Price
1	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
2	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
3	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
4	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
5	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
6	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
7	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
8	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
9	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
10	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
11	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
12	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
13	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
14	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
15	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
16	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
17	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
18	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
19	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
20	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
21	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
22	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
23	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
24	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
25	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
26	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
27	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
28	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
29	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
30	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
31	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
32	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
33	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
34	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
35	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
36	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
37	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
38	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
39	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
40	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
41	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
42	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
43	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
44	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
45	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
46	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
47	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
48	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
49	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
50	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
51	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
52	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
53	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
54	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
55	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
56	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
57	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
58	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
59	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
60	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
61	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
62	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
63	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
64	10-100	10-100	1	100.00	100.00
65	1				

AMEX

Tuesday's Closing
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

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SPORTS

UNLV Runs Its Streak To 37 on 86-74 Romp At New Mexico State

The Associated Press
The University of Nevada-Las Vegas's top-ranked basketball team may not hold a grudge, but the Rebels do know how to kick a memory.

The defending national champion cleared the final big hurdle in their bid to become the first U.S. major college team since 1979 to go undefeated in the regular season.

COLLEGE BASKETBALL

with an 86-74 victory over No. 11 New Mexico State in a Big West Conference game Monday night in Las Cruces, New Mexico.

It stretched UNLV's winning streak to 37 straight and ended New Mexico State's home court winning streak at 29. The victory, said UNLV's coach, Jerry Tarkanian, was the product of some last-minute replays of New Mexico State's 83-82 triumph over the Rebels last year in Las Cruces.

"It really helped over and over today of last year's game," Tarkanian said. "The kids stayed in their rooms and watched them all day."

Stacey Augmon led UNLV (26-0 overall, 17-0 in the Big West) with 24 points. Larry Johnson added 22 and Anderson Hunt 19.

New Mexico State (21-4, 13-3) was led by Randy Brown with 22 and Reggie Jordan with 20.

No. 17 St. John's 68, Georgetown 58. St. John's scored 20 points in the first half, including a 10-0 run in the first 10 minutes at New York City's Madison Square Garden as the Redmen (20-6, 10-6 Big East) won for the fourth time in five games. Georgetown (16-10), which fell out of the top 25 this week for the first time this season, has lost four of five. The Hoyas are 8-7 in the Big East, their most losses since the league was formed in 1979.

St. John's won despite making only three field goals in the final 14 minutes, the last Rob Weir's 3-point shot at the buzzer. Georgetown's Alonzo Mourning was held to six points and four rebounds, and did not make a basket until five seconds were left in the game.

No. 19 East Tennessee State 88, VMI 76. In Johnson City, Tennessee, Keith Jennings scored 19 points as East Tennessee State (25-

4, 11-3 Southern Conference) easily won at home.

No. 25 Virginia 72, Towson State 49. Kenny Turner had 16 points and 10 rebounds in Charlottesville, Virginia, as Jeff Jones became the second coach in Atlantic Coast Conference history to win 20 games in his first season. Jones, 20-9 with the Cavaliers, joined Press Maravich, who won 20 with North Carolina State in 1965.

A Record for Assists

Chris Corchiani, a North Carolina State guard, broke the National Collegiate Athletic Association assist record Monday night during a 90-82 victory over Tennessee.

Corchiani surpassed the 960 mark set by Sherman Douglas of Syracuse early in the first half with a bullet pass from the top of the key to Kevin Thompson under the basket.

Corchiani finished with 13 assists in Knoxville, Tennessee, for a career total of 972, and could become the first player to reach 1,000.

The next player to pass Douglas probably will be East Tennessee State's Jennings, who got seven assists against VMI for a total of 953.

FIFA to Test Several Rule Changes

The Associated Press
ZURICH — The international governing body of soccer plans to use a 32-game junior tournament in August to experiment with drastic rule changes intended to produce more goal scoring.

It is the most concrete response yet by FIFA, the sport's governing body, to complaints that last year's World Cup finals produced too much defensive play.

FIFA's world championship for players under age 17 is to become a testing ground for ways to make soccer more crowd-pleasing.

The organization's general secretary, Joseph Blatter, interviewed on Swiss television Monday night, outlined the changes FIFA wants to try at the two-week, 16-nation tournament in Ecuador.

● Apply the offside rule only to attackers beyond a line drawn at the forward edge of the opposing penalty area, 16 meters from the

goal, leaving the midfield an off-side-free zone.

● Limit the time goalkeepers can hold the ball to six seconds before passing or throwing it out.

● Bar passes back to the goalie.

Another FIFA official said Tuesday that the ban on backpasses would apply only when time was obviously being wasted.

He said FIFA experts are still working on how to make that distinction and what sanctions referees could impose to enforce the trial rules.

FIFA's executive committee is "likely" to give its required formal approval for the tryout, possibly before its next regular meeting in July, the official in Zurich said.

He said the tournament could lead to formal proposals for changes to soccer's rule-making authority, the International Football Association Board.

"We will analyze whether it produced more offensive soccer and

whether the changes should be proposed to the International F.A. Board," he said.

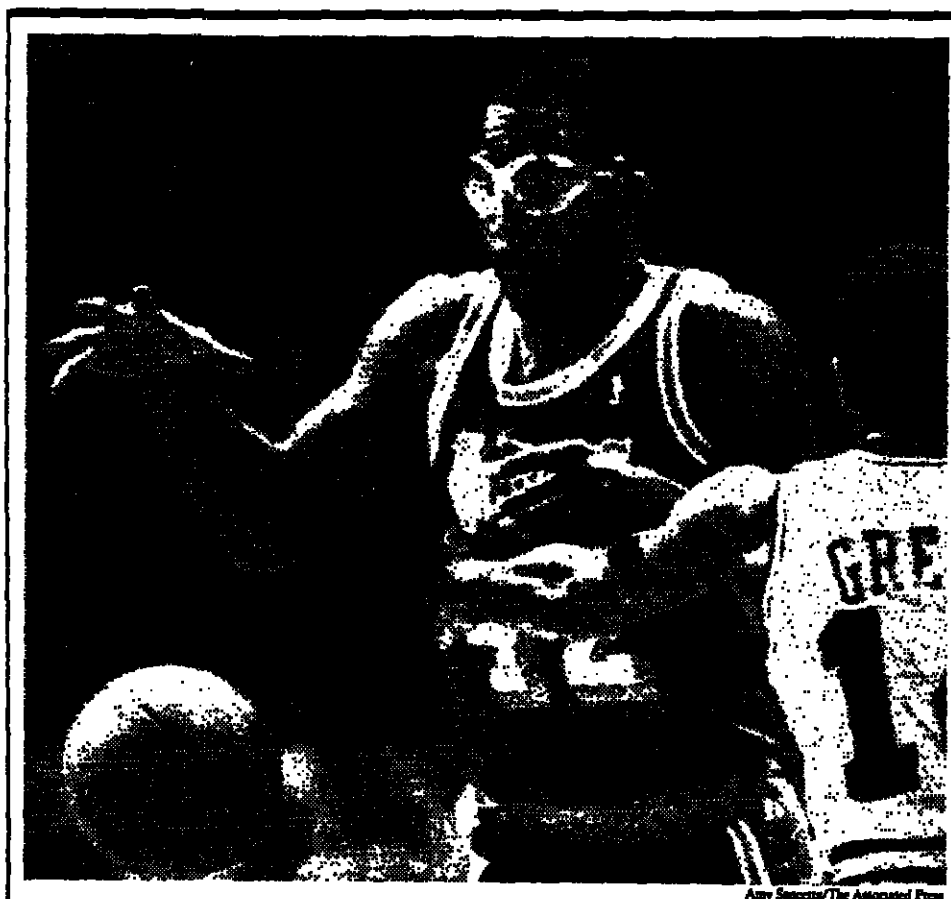
Blatter suggested that not only players but coaches and referees, have to change their approach to the game of mind so "soccer will stay the leading sport."

Several ideas for new rules, including an increase in goal size, surfaced after the often disappointing World Cup in Italy. The experiment in Ecuador would be FIFA's first on a large scale.

In trying to restore the game's excitement, FIFA's eye is undoubtedly on the 1994 World Cup finals in the United States, where professional soccer has never caught on as it has elsewhere.

U.S. television networks showed little interest in signing up to cover the championship.

Another reason is the involvement of big-money commercial sponsors in international soccer, a trend encouraged by FIFA's president, Joao Havelange.



HALT! — James Worth lost the ball when he was grabbed by Rickey Green and the Lakers lost the NBA game, 92-90, when Charles Barkley scored on a lay-up with five seconds left, then partially blocked Magic Johnson's shot at the buzzer. It was the '76ers' fifth straight victory.

Despite War, Games Still Set for Greece

The Associated Press
ATHENS — The 18-nation Mediterranean Games will be held in Greece this summer despite the Gulf war, the chairman of the games committee, Claude Collor of France, said Tuesday.

The venue of the games had been in doubt because of the threat of terrorist attacks against athletes from countries who are members of the coalition fighting Iraq.

Collor said that "efforts are being made to persuade all the countries to send their best athletes to participate."

Kuwait in Tournament

Kuwait has applied to take part in the World Table Tennis Championships in Japan in April despite the war in the Gulf, Agence France-Presse reported Tuesday.

Saudi Arabia also has extended, as have Israel, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates.

The Torments of Kenny Dalglish

International Herald Tribune
LONDON — Have we lost all sense of proportion? Soccer, once a game, achieved a prominence equal to war in my country last Saturday. When dawn broke, most national British newspapers led their front pages with the story of Kenny Dalglish's resignation as the manager of Liverpool alongside the ultimatum to Saddam Hussein.

The editor of the Liverpool Echo, in the parish where Dalglish is an idol, said that "Kenny Dalglish" would have been his main headline even had the Gulf war started that night.

Liverpool, you may know, is a hotbed of soccer. The late Bill Shankly, manager and motivator of the team that carried this favor to the pinnacle of Europe, was only half joking when he said, "Football isn't a matter of life or death — it's more important than that."

He began Liverpool's great journey, but died before fanaticism turned into the mania that killed 39 Juventus supporters at Heysel Stadium in Brussels in 1985.

Dalglish, a player that night, became the team's manager the next day. He sustained the winning tradition he inherited, despite a pause following the suffocation of 95 Liverpoolians on an overcrowded terrace at Hillsborough two years ago.

Somehow the pulse of Liverpool, the strength of its belief in soccer, kept going. Shankly's pronouncement prevailed and Dalglish, like Shankly a Scot to whom soccer is the food of life, came down from Glasgow to further his and Liverpool's dreams. To managers throughout the soccer world, he seemed to have it all: The best team in his league, the best resources, the closest thing to job security and a \$400,000 salary.

Why turn away now, with Liverpool again England's leader and likely to be allowed back into European competition in the spring?

Dalglish faces the media like a badger prodded into the spotlight. All he tells us is that "pressure" got to him. But I suspect that he felt trapped by the tragedies that came with the job and by forever being the catalyst to emotions beyond his control.

The son of a diesel engineer, he now lives in a millionaire's residence beside a top golf course. He has earned abnormal wages since his teens, so is it beyond our understanding that, as 40 years, he has lost the motivation to continue leading an abnormal life?

His parting abruptly followed an extraordinary 4-4 F.A. Cup draw against Liverpool's neighbor, Everton. Four times Liverpool led, sometimes through goals of greatness. Four times it was tied, sometimes because of a more careless defense than we have seen from Liverpool in two decades. It was exhilarating to watch.

But if anything could show a Liverpool manager how peripheral his control is, this was it.

Dalglish told the team's directors he wanted to leave "active participation in professional football" immediately. The board tried to keep him, but by Saturday his understudy was in temporary charge.

The team lost for only the third time in 25 league matches. It lost to Luton, which is ignominiously allowed two advantages no other club in soccer: a plastic pitch and a ban on opponents' supporters.

This Wednesday and this Saturday bring Liverpool proper tests, first the cup replay against Everton, then a league match against the main championship contender, Arsenal.

Age and infirmity threaten Liverpool. Five key men are absent, hurt; the defense is wobbling around its

allowing center-back Glenn Hysen; the attacking inspiration, John Barnes, is distracted as he dabbles over a new \$15,000-a-week contract that would make him Britain's highest paid player.

Barnes waits to see if there are offers from Italy. But he spoke of "raving, raving and screaming" in Liverpool's dressing room after last Wednesday's mistakes, and he suggested that Liverpool might not leave out his England colleague, Peter Beardsley.

Dalglish may have felt betrayed. He has repeatedly omitted Beardsley, a wonderful, scurrying little player on good days who sometimes looks more like a wind-up toy running down before the match is over.

Liverpool, by tradition, never washed its dirty linen in public. Yet Dalglish had a few weeks ago castigated his players for failing in commitment and pride. Those were the surface signs of his tensions. In the speculation that followed, the instant public analysis was that Dalglish was suffering from "burn out."

The pop psychologists have never been within leagues of Liverpool's Anfield stadium, let alone been inside to see Dalglish. They would not know that the club is itself in deep transition, having changed chairman last May after 17 years.

PLAYING soccer is an extended childhood, and managing catapulted Dalglish from being one of the finest of goal scorers into a strange adulthood where pressures work in virtually opposite directions.

The player has time, spent in Dalglish's case with his wife and four children and with golf. The manager fights time, and sacrifices most normal forms of living.

Where Liverpool managers before him dissipated the tension by collective decision making between manager, chairman and administrative executive, Dalglish retreated into loneliness. He avoided the club's famed "Boot Room," where in other times the problems were talked through and swilled down with tea. He bottled up emotions.

His conception of managing was that "the people who watch and who love the team as part of their lives want every asset we possess to be wearing a red shirt." But times change. Hillsborough saw to that.

From tragedy came an order to rebuild the major stadiums into all-seat accommodations, the first phase of which will cost Liverpool \$15 million. Significantly the club administrator, Peter Robinson, spoke recently of less money being available for strengthening the team.

However, it is not just money and never has been at Liverpool. It is a question of spirit. The fans pour it into the club and, hitherto, the team has been so endowed with such good players that one observer said: "Liverpool could put Winnie the Pooh in charge and still win the league."

We shall see.

Meanwhile, my mind goes back to Hillsborough and to the inherent danger, the leadership Dalglish showed there.

He made himself, his family and his players available to the bereaved. He cried with them, he supported them, his wife, Marina, answered the helpline at 4 o'clock in the morning. And when it was their wish, not his, he instructed the players back to winning ways.

Sadly, some expectations cling on, and the big matches still bring requests for complimentary tickets from the people it is hardest, in all conscience, to turn away.

Whether now Dalglish? First into family life, then the golf course. And then? More speculation, this time further than perhaps even he can foresee.

Rob Hughes is on the staff of the Sunday Times.

BOOKS

GERMANY: The Empire Within

By Amity Schlaes. Illustrated. 264 pages. \$19.95. Farrar, Straus & Giroux, N. Y. Union Square West, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Reviewed by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt

IN the introduction to her evocative but troubling first book, "Germany: The Empire Within," Amity Schlaes explains: "It was love that brought me to Germany in the first place — love of the German language."

"For an American Jew, even an unreligiously one like myself, it was an awkward passion. Around me were many Jews who boycotted Volkswagen Beetles, or Braun mixing machines, not to mention the study of Hitler's tongue."

When she went to Germany, first in 1982 as a student at the Free University in Berlin, then from 1985 to 1990 as a European correspondent for the Wall Street Journal, where she is now deputy features editor of the editorial page, Schlaes regarded the culture with trepidation as well as affection.

This was not unreasonable, given Germany's history, a history that makes her book particularly relevant now that the country has been reunified. When one friend tells the author in the wake of the Berlin Wall's dismantling, "Berlin is becoming itself again," the reader has cause to swallow hard.

What is the source of the author's trepidation? She never describes it in so many words, but what it comes down to is the Nazi expression "Ein Volk, ein Reich" ("One people, one empire"), that keeps rearing its head down to the present day.

It is various aspects of this myth that Schlaes explores in the itinerary of her book, which takes her everywhere from a refugee camp in Friedland for processing immigrants from Eastern Europe, to the military academy in Hamburg where today's German officers are trained, to a Jewish elementary school in the heart of Berlin.

Not that Schlaes sounds any loud alarms. Her prose has a leisurely, laid-back quality that probes without cutting. At its best it captures the atmospheres of Germany's various locales, the differences between bumptious Bavaria, mercantile Hamburg and "grand like Chicago" Berlin.

Often unpleasant echoes of Germany's past are given a wryly amusing twist. One scene opens with Remmel addressing 1,000 Sudeten Germans, but it turns out to be the Desert Fox's son, Manfred, the mayor of Stuttgart, addressing a convention of Sudeten expatriates who are celebrating their success in modern Germany.

In the final section of her book, an evocation of Berlin, Schlaes seems to wander away from her theme. She portrays the landlady of the apartment she

lived in, a 6-foot-tall bespectacled blonde in her 50s named Karen. Her father turns out to have been in charge of developing the Volkswagen for the Nazis.

Karen remembers as a child having played with a bread-loaf-size VW Beetle that actually ran. One day it disappeared; later she learned that it had been given as a birthday present to Hitler. After the war, the Americans offered to classify Karen's father as a mere *Mitläufer*, the lowest category of Nazi; "he was a distinguished gentleman who, the

Allies saw, could help build the new Germany."

Karen embodies one's reaction to Schlaes' report, which is mild apprehension about the new Germany's destiny. Karen is Stepping Beauty, waiting for her prince to kiss her. Only her prince may be a frog, awakening her to the nightmare of some German future.

Christopher Lehmann-Haupt is on the staff of The New York Times.

BEST SELLERS

The New York Times
This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on list are not necessarily consecutive.

FICTION			NONFICTION		
Week	Rank	Weeks on list	Week	Rank	Weeks on list
1	HEARTBEAT, by Danielle Steel	1	1	IRON JOHN, by Robert Bly	1
2	COLD FIRE, by Dean R. Koontz	1	2	A LIFE ON THE ROAD, by Charles Kuralt	1
3	THE SECRET PILGRIM, by John Le Carré	2	3	THE CIVIL WAR, by Geoffrey C. Ward with Ric Burns and Ken Burns	1
4	BATTLEGROUND, by W. E. B. Griffin	3	4	YOU JUST DON'T UNDERSTAND, by Deborah Tannen	2
5	PORTVING, by L. V. Wright	4	5	PATRIOTISM, by Philip Roth	3
6	MAGIC HOUR, by Susan Lasser	5	6	MILLIE'S BOOK, as dictated to Barbara Greig	4
7	THE FOURTH K, by Mario Puzo	6	7	THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF CHILDREN, by Robert Coles	5
8	THE OLD CONTAMPTIBLES, by Marjorie Green	7	8	AND THE SEA WILL TELL, by Vincent Bugliosi with Bruce B. Henderson	6
9	CIRCLE OF FRIENDS, by Marc Burch	8	9	THE NEW RUSSAINS, by Heide Schreyer	7
10	THE WITCHING HOUR, by Anne Rice	9	10	BO KNOWS BO, by Bo Jackson and Dick Schaap	8
11			11	THE JAPAN THAT CAN SAY NO, by Shunji Iwano	9
12			12	POWERSHIFT, by Alvin Toffler	10
			13	ALL I REALLY NEED TO GET TO KNOW, I LEARNED IN KINDERGARTEN, by Robert Fulghum	11

ADVICE, HOW-TO AND MISCELLANEOUS

1	FINANCIAL SELF DEFENSE, by Charles J. Gens	1
2	HOMECOMING, by John Bradshaw Parnell	2
3	FIND WALDO NOW, by Martin Handford	3
4	WHERE'S WALDO? by Martin Handford	4
5	THE GREAT WALDO SEARCH, by Martin Handford	5

DOONESBURY



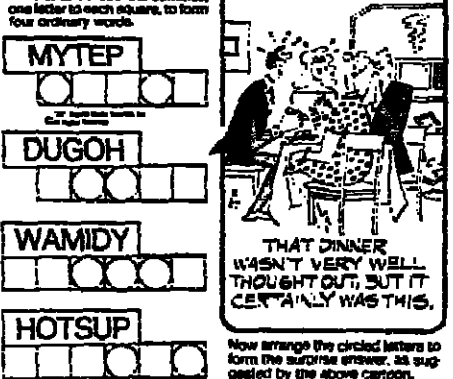
DENNIS THE MENACE



"THE VET SAID HE DIDN'T HAVE WORMS. YOU THINK WE SHOULD GET HIM SOME?"

JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumble words, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.



Answer here: " " " " (Answers on page 17)

Yesterday's Jumble: DAILY OLDER SUBWAY WALRUS

Answer: Among the many things that are superficial is this — A WORD TO THE WISE

BLONDIE



GARFIELD



السلامة العامة

SPORTS

Athletic Fund Raising:
It's Just Child's Play

The Associated Press

MANSFIELD, Pennsylvania — Roger Clemens will make \$21.5 million to throw strikes over the next four years, but the players for Mansfield University's baseball team claim they will work harder to make \$13,000 a year: They baby-sit.

Thirteen nights a year, the team's 29 players host "Kids Nite Out." For \$5, payable in advance, children can be left at the university's Decker Gymnasium for five hours, enough time for the parents to have a night out in Elmira, New York, or Williamsport, Pennsylvania, the closest cities to Mansfield, a town of about 4,000.

"There's not a whole lot for kids to do on a Saturday night in Mansfield," said the baseball team's coach, Harry Hillson. "There's no YMCA, no sponsored recreation halls. They get a treat coming up on campus."

The players also are limited in what they can do in town, he said, "and this gives them something different to do on a Saturday night."

In the gym and sports complex, those being sat and those sitting can swim or play dodge ball, volleyball, basketball, stickball or football, depending on the season. It is like a summer camp done very quickly, complete with headaches.

"You know how loud kids can get, right?" Willson said. "Well, the first year there was no music. Now we've figured out to play music at a level where you can't hear the yelling."

The bulk of the money raised pays for the team's annual March swing through Florida, but it has also been used to beef up the baseball team's facilities.

Mansfield has the only field tarp in the 14-school Pennsylvania State Athletic Conference, the largest scoreboard, the only permanent bleachers and a separate practice field for baseball.

But the team does have a problem. Mansfield is in north-central Pennsylvania, 14 miles (23 kilometers) from the New York border. Although the Mountaineers' season may start in sunny Florida, when they return home it is still winter.

"We've had white-outs instead of rain-outs," said Steve McCloskey, the school's information director. "Usually after the end of the season it gets really nice here."

"There is a psychological factor about playing at Mansfield," Hillson said. "It's 5 degrees colder here and spring comes two weeks later. Everyone else from the league is from southern Pennsylvania."

During the winter, the Mountaineers practice in makeshift cages and pitching from portable mounds. A few windows are broken in the recreation center, which has four lines of only 75 feet.

"Most of the guys at this level catch and throw with enough accuracy so that nobody gets killed," Hillson said.

For infield practice, players move outside to an asphalt parking lot. They'd practice on grass, but it usually is covered with snow. The Kids Nite Out program hasn't changed much in its eight years, except for sports being dropped or altered. The trampoline was taken out after a child knocked out his front tooth, Hillson said, and the air was taken out of balls used in dodge ball.

"The worst thing that's happened to me is having a kid get sick," said John Brauer, a senior pitcher from Binghamton, New York. "One kid who was wrestling didn't look too good. He started walking toward me and the next thing you know he's throwing up on my shoes. After a few minutes, he went back to wrestling."

About 200 children, ages 6 to 17, take part in each Kids Nite Out. It puts a crimp on some of the independent baby-sitters in town, but many have been known to bring their charges to the gym.

"There are kids who have been here since I've been here," said Andy McCauley, a senior pitcher from Allentown, Pennsylvania. "They like seeing the players."

"When I came up for a visit they told me about it. It's part of the program. You have to take the baby-sitting with the Florida trip."

La Russa Seeks Spark to Kindle A's to Fourth Straight Title

By Murray Chass

New York Times Service

SCOTTSDALE, Arizona — Tony La Russa, seeking to become the first major league manager in nearly four decades to win four consecutive pennants, has had all winter to think about it, and he is prepared to tell his players this week why they lost the World Series last fall in four quick games.

Actually, La Russa did not need all winter. He said Monday that he had an idea going into the Series against the Cincinnati Reds that his Oakland Athletics were not going to win.

"We didn't pressure ourselves enough," La Russa said, addressing the end of last year while his pitchers and catchers pushed themselves through calisthenics at Scottsdale Community College on their first day of baseball's new year.

The manager did not want to explain what he meant. He was saving it, he said, as

Topic A of his talk to all the players, when the rest of the team arrives for spring training on Thursday.

But as he spoke with a small group of reporters, he said just a little bit more, and then a little bit more than that. And he seemed to be saying that the Athletics were too lax and not intense enough in their approach to their third successive World Series.

"It's something in the way we prepared to play the World Series," he said.

Then, after talking about the importance of "peaking" at the end of the season, "when the championship is on the line," something he said the Athletics clearly did the previous year, he pinpointed the moment he first suspected something was wrong at the end of 1990.

The feeling, he said, stemmed from the team meeting on the day before the Series began.

"We had dinner that night," he related,

and I told my wife I didn't get a good feel from that meeting." But, he added, he did not act on his intuition.

"If it scared me enough," he said, "the next day, before the first game, I could've said, 'Wait a minute, fellas.' But I didn't. Then watching the first part of the first game, I said, 'Uh, oh.'"

"It's not like we said, 'Uh, oh, it's over' — there were attempts made to try to get on it. But Cincinnati was too good."

Again, La Russa was reluctant to explain what he saw that foreshadowed doom. But after being asked, and after thinking for a moment, he cited one example that reflected not on his players but on himself.

"I didn't pitch out on Hatcher running on the first pitch with two out in the first inning," he said. "The guy hit the pitch for a home run. That was me. I didn't pressure."

Billy Hatcher was at first base with Eric

Davis at bat and broke for second with Dave Stewart's first pitch. Davis, who had endured a miserable playoff, hit it for a home run that propelled the Reds to a victory not only in the first game but also in the Series.

"We screwed it up, but they did great," La Russa said, not wanting to detract from Cincinnati's effort.

Oakland begins spring training this year in the same circumstance it did two years ago: returning from losing a World Series it was supposed to have won.

Some people thought that La Russa used the 1988 loss to Los Angeles as a motivating factor for the team's success in 1989 against San Francisco, and would do the same this year with last October's loss.

But the manager said: "It's much too negative a thing to carry through the season. I didn't use the World Series until we got into the postseason. You can't go six months saying we lost the World Series."

But if we get to the postseason this year, Dave Stewart's first pitch. Davis, who had endured a miserable playoff, hit it for a home run that propelled the Reds to a victory not only in the first game but also in the Series.

La Russa was making no predictions about winning a fourth consecutive pennant (Casey Stengel, with the New York Yankees, was the last to do it). The division and league have too many good teams, he said, to proclaim that the Athletics will be back in postseason play.

But, he added, he believed this team will be better than the one he had last year, and he further believes it can overcome the loss of Carney Lansford, possibly for the season, to knee surgery.

"My worst fear," La Russa said, "is that we get to the end of the season and find, as I did after the World Series, that we didn't take our best shot. That I legitimately fear. That keeps me up. So I'm going to try and put that fear to rest. There was a stink last year, and it still stinks."



Rudolf Nierlich of Austria sped to victory in the slalom in Oppland, Norway, just beating Switzerland's Paul Accola for his first World Cup triumph since January 1990. But Alberto Tomba, inset, was "really desperate" after having been disqualified on the first run and falling farther behind Marc Girardelli in the overall standings.

Nierlich Finally Wins Again,
Tomba, Furuseth Disqualified

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

OPPLAND, Norway — Rudolf Nierlich, Austria's giant slalom world champion, won his first World Cup race in more than a year Wednesday when he swept to victory in a slalom.

But the big winner was Marc Girardelli of Luxembourg, skiing despite an aching left knee, who took a big step toward a record-setting fourth World Cup overall title as two of his main rivals were disqualified for missing gates in the opening run.

Nierlich, who last won a World Cup race, a slalom, in Kitzbühel, Austria, in January 1990, carved out a big lead in the first leg and withstood a powerful challenge from Switzerland's Paul Accola in the second.

"It was time for me to win again in the World Cup. It has been over a year now," Nierlich said.

Girardelli, who succeeded Nierlich as slalom world champion this year, finished third to extend his overall lead in the World Cup standings.

The Olympic champion, Alberto Tomba of Italy, and the World Cup slalom leader, Ole Kristian Furuseth of Norway, were both disqualified in the first run.

Tomba protested in vain as he saw his chances dashed after having set the second-fastest time, 0.27 of a second behind Nierlich.

"I didn't see the gate because the gatekeeper blocked the view," Tomba said.

chances to win the overall," said Girardelli. "But a lot may also depend how I will be able to ski in the next few races. I just can't train very hard now."

The next two races, a giant slalom and a slalom, are set for this weekend at Lillehammer, Norway, site of the 1994 Winter Olympics.

Girardelli, whose skiing career was nearly ended in a severe fall 14 months ago, hadn't been optimistic before Tuesday's race.

"I had so much pain in my knee this morning that I was sure if I'd be able to compete," he said.

Tomba, who was unable to complete both runs for the fourth successive time, said, "I'm really desperate today. It is hard to lose a race again in such a stupid way."

"I was distracted on the course by people who moved on the piste and I did not see a gate which I missed. I should have stopped immediately to ask for a return."

"I felt really strong today and I'm sure I just need to come two days down the mountain without a problem to win again. I don't know what to do — I have never been so down."

Lasse Kjus, who had a bad crash in a downhill training run at the world championships, finished fourth.

The 20-year-old Norwegian, a triple world champion last winter, shares with Girardelli the rare distinction of scoring points in all World Cup events this season.

(Reuters staff AP)

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic Division

W L Pct GB

Boston 41 24 .571

Philadelphia 34 31 .523

New York 34 31 .523

Washington 23 40 .364

New Jersey 17 46 .269

Miami 16 48 .250

Central Division

W L Pct GB

Chicago 39 24 .571

Detroit 34 31 .523

Milwaukee 31 34 .476

Atlanta 21 44 .321

Indiana 19 46 .297

Charlotte 16 49 .246

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Midwest Division

W L Pct GB

San Antonio 34 31 .523

Utah 31 34 .476

Houston 21 44 .321

Dallas 19 46 .297

Minnesota 17 48 .262

Orlando 16 49 .246

Denver 15 50 .234

Pacific Division

W L Pct GB

Portland 41 24 .571

L.A. Lakers 40 25 .569

Phoenix 36 29 .554

Golden State 29 36 .443

Seattle 25 40 .388

L.A. Clippers 18 47 .277

Sacramento 15 50 .234

MONDAY'S RESULTS

L.A. Lakers 97-88 Philadelphia

Scott 84-80 Boston

151-118 Seattle 74-67 Los Angeles

Anastasi 58 (Dwyer 16), Philadelphia 41 (Barnes 19), Golden State 84 (Johnson 13), Philadelphia 24 (Hawkins 13)

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